

IRISH
LITERATURE
AND HISTORY

VOL. XXXV

LEABHAR
GAEILGE
CHÉNN
TURG IL

EDITION BY
LEONARD REED
BY
R. S.
MACLAUGHLIN



(1030)
1939





IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY

CUMANN NA SCRÍBÉANN ÍNGAEÓIRÍ



VOL. XXXV

(1933)

1939

LEBOR GABÁLA ÉRENN

THE BOOK OF THE TAKING OF IRELAND

PART II

EDITED AND TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, ETC.

BY

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DUBLIN :

PUBLISHED FOR THE IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY
BY THE EDUCATIONAL COMPANY OF IRELAND, LTD.
89 TALBOT STREET

1939

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First Published 1939

Reprinted 1986, 1996, 2002, 2010

Irish Texts Society,
c/o The Royal Bank of Scotland,
Drummonds Branch,
49 Charing Cross,
Admiralty Arch,
London SW1A 2DX

ISBN 978 1 870 16635 3

Reprinted in Ireland, 2010
by CRM Design + Print Ltd., Dublin 12
and bound by Duffy Bookbinders Ltd., Dublin 1

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA TO VOL. I.

Some errata have been detected by myself and others and, so far as they are of importance, may be mentioned here. Such typographical trifles as the wrong-fount D (p. vi, line 13) and the misprint "Eisenmenger" (for "menger"), top of p. 265, may be disregarded. The following should however be emended:—

p. 19, ¶ 6, l. 2: for "sinned" read "quarrelled."

p. 43, for "no wickedness is spoken here" read "no location is postulated here." This does not necessarily modify the references to the passage on pp. 15, 224: the gloss still makes the impression of a man seeking to reassure himself along the lines there indicated.

p. 87, line 5, for "there" read "here."

p. 226. I am indebted to Dr. Max Forster for calling my attention to two studies of his own which I have since referred to, and which should certainly be added to the bibliographical references in ¶ 27. "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung, ein lateinisches Fragment des südslawischen Henoch" (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, xi [1908], 477). "Die mittelirische Version von Adams Erschaffung" (ZCP xiii, p. 47 ff.).

p. 246. A courteous reviewer has objected to the diagram-restoration on account of the implied treatment of the word *gid*. The disagreement is a matter of instinct rather than of argument: the passage makes an impression of *progressive* interpolation; and the examples of *eid* used emphatically, to which he refers me, do not seem to me to be parallel. Moreover my interpretation gains an effective antithesis (indicated in the note) which is lost otherwise.

Another reviewer, equally courteous, has made some suggestions which I had already considered, but rejected because they went too much against the ms. evidence. But I must demur to being chidden for ignoring *ninsa* in the translation (as on p. 153). This is a mere punctuation-mark, and to pepper an English version with "not difficult," where "?" would suffice is slightly absurd.

G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, p. 272, should be referred to on p. 139 of this volume. The book did not come into my hands till after the sheet was printed off.

SECTION II.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAEDIL.

Introduction.

We have already seen (Vol. I, p. xxvii) that this section is based, not on genuine traditional matter (we may perhaps except a few personal names, though even this is uncertain), but on an artificial adaptation of the early history of the Israelites. It has suffered modification in translation from the original Latin and in subsequent transmission—a proof that the historians were not hampered by tradition—and in consequence two versions, R¹ and R², differing widely, have come into being. Even in matter common to both there is nothing traditional: the most striking is also the most obviously borrowed. The tale of the Sirens, outwitted by waxing the ears of the ships' crews, can be nothing more than an adaptation of the familiar Homeric tale of Odysseus: the druid Caieher, who invents this precautionary expedient, is merely a compound of the seer Calchas of Troy and the sorceress Circe, to whose suggestion it is ascribed by Homer.¹

Both versions start with Nel in Egypt, whither he has gone to teach Pharaoh his languages and where he has married Pharaoh's daughter, Scota I: but the genealogical antecedents of Nel differ in the two texts. In R² he is brought into association with Moses, who has encamped with his followers at "Capacirunt"—the Pi-Hahiroth of Exodus xiv. 2—where Nel has his estate: Nel gives them supplies, thereby angering Pharaoh, though the fate of the latter in the Red Sea averts

¹ Odyssey, xii, 47. A similar device appears in the story of the Yew of the Sons of Angcess (Book of Leinster, fasc. 27 a, 35 ff.). A biographer of St. Brendan has borrowed it: the saint, having had a revelation of the music of Heaven, ever afterwards found earthly music disagreeable, and plugged his ears so as not to hear it. (Martyrology of Donegal, 16 May.)

for a time the royal vengeance. R¹ knows nothing of this, but seems to suggest that the Gaedil left Egypt under Sru, Nel's great grandson, because the death of Pharaoh had deprived them of royal patronage. In R² an outburst of Egyptian hostility in a later generation is the cause of their exodus.

Both versions, again, bring Sru to Scythia, where the descendant of Nel's brother Nenual is king. There is a cross-fighting between the Scythian kings and the Gædelic leaders, involving the usual royal vendetta, which continues through several generations.

At last Refloir son of Rifill, the Scythian king, is killed: R¹ says by Agno [mai]n, fifth in descent from Sru; R² says by Mil, the father of the "Milesian" leaders. From what source this "Refloir son of Rifill" reached the Irish historians is a question that has not yet been answered. In both stories this particular killing is regarded by the Scythians as especially heinous, though why Refloir was more sacrosanct than his ill-fated predecessors does not appear. In expiation for the crime, the Gaedil are exiled from Scythia. R¹ takes them north to the Rhipaeon Mountain, where they find a well with the taste of wine, and where Caicher prophesies their future journeys and the postponement of their arrival in the Promised Land: they then proceed to the Maeotic Marshes, where they remain for nine generations, after which they set out for Spain, their last halt on the trek to Ireland. R², however, conducts them back to Egypt, marries their then leader Mil to Seota II, daughter of Nectanebus, then King of Egypt; and keeps him there till his extensive family of sons is born. He then leaves, because Nectanebus is too weak, in the face of the conquering Alexander the Great, to be of any service to him as a patron; and he sets forth on the long voyage by the Rhipaeon Mountain (where he hears the prophecy of Caicher) and so on to Spain. The protracted sojourn at the Maeotic Marshes is unknown to this version.² The doubled personality of Seota is enough

³ It is conceivable that this place is emphasized in the sequel because some wiseacre saw in *Gaethlaige* an etymology for *Gaedil*; and though the eponym *Gaedel Glas* prevented ∞ LG or his glossators and successors from perpetuating this notion, the "historical" influence remained.

to show that the two Egypt episodes in R² are doublets, which have developed independently, the second being a later interpolation in the text, made when the versions had become so different that the historians supposed them to be different stories. The original tale may have introduced Moses, who dropped out of R¹ and was much developed in R²: but the reason which it alleged for the departure of the Gaedil from Egypt was at first not so much fear of Egyptian vengeance as the death of the royal patron,

We may provisionally restore the original version in outline thus: Nel goes to Egypt: marries Scota (to account for the name "Scots"): meets Moses, but his extended dealings with him in R² are a later adaptation from the Biblical narrative: Pharaoh is drowned: Nel leaves Egypt with his wife and family: they wander far, hear the prophecy as to the duration of their voyage, set forth again and ultimately reach Spain. We have seen (Vol. I, p. xxvii) that in the story as originally devised, on the basis of the history of the Israelites, Nel corresponded to Terah (to some extent also to Moses) and Mil to Jacob. But as the tale passed from redactor to redactor it had parted company with its original form, and had indeed become distorted beyond recognition. The functions of Nel and of Mil became assimilated, so that the two heroes as they are presented in the text before us are virtually doublets of one another.

I take it that the Scythian episode is an etymological invention (Seots = Scythians), at first quite independent of the LG canon; it went through several modifications during its separate existence, and at last was incorporated, in two different versions, by the two traditions which culminated in R¹ and R². The pointless delay at the Maeotic Marshes in R² is also an interpolation. Though this story had lost its original etymological purpose, it was still useful to square up a chronological discrepancy which some redactor had discovered.

The version in Min need not detain us: it does not differ essentially from R¹. We turn now to R³, which in this section is a very clumsy and awkward patchwork, based upon the two earlier versions, with the addition of some extraneous matter.

The compiler has endeavoured to produce a composite

text; preserving as many details as possible, but abandoning the hopeless task of reconciling discrepancies. The close relationship of his ms. of R¹ (*Q), to F, observed in the preceding section, is here maintained.

The following table continues the analysis of R³, begun on Vol. I, p. 5, above. Paragraphs marked * are from R¹, those marked † from R², those unmarked from some independent source.

Paragraph.	Source.
*134	R ¹ ¶ 103 (reading <i>Magog</i> for <i>Gomer</i>).
135	Interpolated prefatory matter.
136 M version	Independent version.
† „ H version	From R ² ¶ 16, 17, in § I.
*137	R ¹ ¶ 104 + R ² ¶ 18 (the latter in H only).
*138	R ¹ ¶ 105.
†139	Chronological interpolation from R ² ¶ 17 in § I.
*140	R ¹ ¶ 106, with some preliminary matter apparently lost from extant mss. of R ² .
141	Interpolation about Feinius and his study of History.
*142	R ² ¶ 107 + an interpolation on the divisions of Gaelic.
†143-150	R ² ¶ 118-123 (the Egyptian episode).
*†151-154	R ¹ ¶ 109, 110 + R ² ¶ 127 and some extraneous matter.
155-156	Matter from an independent source.
*157-162	R ¹ ¶ 110-115, given frankly as an alternate version of this part of the story.

There is on the whole a proportionally larger number of interpolated passages inserted into the text of these paragraphs than in § I; and some few passages have been dropped (or possibly did not exist in *Q). But it would be a mere matter of scissors and paste to divide this section of R³ into its component parts, and to restore almost all of the text of the mss. of R¹ and R² which lay before the compiler.

We have now to consider the relations between R¹R²R³ and the later attempts at historical synthesis—O'Clery's

redaction (K) and Keating's *History* (Kg). The following details are apparent immediately:—

Nel is descended from Gomer R¹, from Magog R²R³—also KKg.

Rifaith Scot brings "Scotic" from the Tower R²R³—rejected by KKg.

Gaelic is fashioned by Gaedel Glas R¹, by Feinius R²R³. Not in K. Kg ascribes it to a different Gaedel, s. Ethor, unknown to LG.

The Nel-Moses episode, not in R¹ and certain mss. of R². In KKg, but with some differences of detail. Thus, in K, Nel reports to his own people his intention to succour the Israelites; the serpent does not bite, but winds itself around Gaedel, and the green mark is made by the coils, not by the bite; the numbers of the drowned Egyptians are substantially increased. In Kg the serpent attacked Gaedel when swimming (a detail borrowed from Poem no. XVIII); and a chronological disquisition assumes that Gaedel was not a young boy, but was eighty years of age; the numbers of the drowned Egyptians are reduced.

Sru, not Nel, is the contemporary of the Red Sea disaster, and leaves Egypt immediately in R¹. In R²R³ Sru is the fourth descendant from Nel, who is the contemporary of the disaster—also KKg.

In R²R³ Tuir follows Cineris immediately as King of Egypt. K agrees. Kg (who calls Thuir "Intuir") interpolates five kings.

Sru had 4 ships R²R³: K says 50. Kg merely quotes a poetical extract specifying 4.

Scota accompanied her descendants to Scythia in their flight and died immediately after landing, R² only: K follows, not Kg.

The simultaneous deaths of Sru and Nervual are attributed to a plague in K only. K is unique in supplying the Scythian king with a brother, Baath, who aids him in the fight against the followers of Sru.

Agnomain kills Refloir R¹. Mil kills him, R²R³; the latter gives the Agnomain story as an alternative. In KKg the slayer is Agnomain.

The remaining incidents of the section are shuffled like the cards of a pack by the different authorities. We may tabulate them thus—

- A^a Agnomain banished from Scythia after slaying Refloir.
- A^m Mil banished from Scythia after slaying Refloir.
- B^s Assault of the Sirens.
- B^a Assault of the Amazons.
- C^m Journey via Sliab Riffe (and Caicher's prophecy) to the Maeotic Marshes.
- C^e Journey to Egypt.
- D^e Birth of Eber Glunfind.
- D^m Birth of Mil.
- E^b Brath leads the Gaedil to Spain.
- E^m Mil leads the Gaedil to Spain.
- G^a Mil marries Scota.
- G^{ng} Mil marries Seng.

—and on analysis we shall find that

R^1 has $A^aB^sC^mD^eE^o$. In this text Mil is never mentioned in the present section.

R^2 has $A^mC^eG^taB^sE^m$.

R^3 has $G^neA^mC^eG^taB^sB^oE^m$ followed by the R^1 sequence as an alternative story.

In K we find $A^aB^sC^mD^eE^b$ as in R^1 : then D^m in Spain, whence Mil returns to Scythia, and G^ne . He then slays what must be supposed to be a later Refloir, followed by the first version of R^3 with numerous interpolations, such as an interview with the Cruithne; and with the omission of B^sB^a .

Kg follows the same lines as K, but he introduces B^sB^a after A^a , and substitutes Gothia³ for the Macotic Marshes. In Spain he is puzzled by the double leadership of Brath and of Bregon, and thus duplicates the city founded in Spain—Braganza is founded by Brath and Brigansia by Bregon.

Both these late writers have been misled by the alternative versions of the Scythian vendetta in R^3 . They have mistaken them for successive events, but knowing that Agnomain preceded Mil genealogically they have transposed them, inventing the clumsy device of “a visit to his kinsfolk” to bring Mil back to Scythia in order to have the second version fitted in. This is more than a mere literary curiosity: it is a most instructive illustration of the evolution of this kind of historical tradition. The story has developed on two lines. A compiler, finding the two versions, combined them as alternatives: later compilers fused the two versions into one story. Many duplicates, both of personality and of incident, are to be found in the text before us, and they are all to be explained in the same way.

For example, most of the eight sons of Mil form duplicate pairs. Colptha and Donn are eponymous intrusions, designed to explain certain place-names: but for the rest, Eber and Eremon, Amair-gen and Ir, (F)ebrua and Erannan pair off together, and the pairs are all variants of a single pair.

In another respect the later writers are instructive. They wrote when writing-materials were becoming cheap, and they could afford to spread themselves in a way which would be

³ Clearly by a confusion of *Gothia* with *Gaethlaige*.

impossibly extravagant to their predecessors. They set down on paper discussions which in the days of waxed tablets and expensive parchment would be left to the spoken word. Keating was not the only historical student who spent an infinity of futile energy in seeking to reconcile the obvious chronological and topographical discrepancies in the matters with which he dealt; they are so obvious that they must have constantly provoked discussion and controversy. Both Keating and O’Clery fill in outlines which are merely sketched in the earlier texts, and which must have been filled in *viva voce*. For example, the earlier texts merely say that the Sirens caused the mariners to sleep; that they subsequently devoured them is left to be understood, but is set forth in black and white by K and Kg.

O’Clery had opinions of his own about some of the matter which he copied, and we know from his own pen that only the command of his ecclesiastical superiors prevented him from altering whatever seemed to him incorrect or disagreeable.⁴ This admission throws a shadow of doubtfulness over all his work. In the text before us he regularly changes “Milid” back to “Golamh,” and makes a number of other minor verbal alterations. Thus, he compares Lamhfind’s hands, not to candles, but to the more dignified “lamps” (*tochranne*). He suppresses the Amazon episode, probably because he considered it inconsistent with the dignity and prowess of Mil. On the whole his favourite text seems to belong to R^2 , but he had R^3 in constant use, and occasionally, perhaps, referred to L or to some closely related text. Kg seems to depend chiefly on R^3 .

⁴ See Plummer, *Colophons and Marginia of Irish Scribes* (Proceedings, British Academy, xii (1926), p. 51).

SECTION II.

Min. and First Redaction.

Min.

R¹.

(μΑ 26 α 5: μR 91 β 24.)

(L 1 γ 8: F 1 8 22.)

103. ¹Atberait araile combad ²Baadh mae Ibaid meic ³Gomer meic ⁴Iafédh, ⁵γ is ūad Gāidil γ fir na Seithiā: γ macc do ⁶Fenius Farsaid.

Baath, † ⁷in dara mac Ibath, ⁷|| ⁸meic Gomer meic ⁹Iaféth, is ūad Gāedil γ fir na ¹⁰Seithiā. Mac dō, ¹¹in fer amra ariegda¹¹ diar bo ainm ¹²Fenius Farsaid. † ¹³Issē-side in ¹⁴dara tōsech sechtmogat do chōid¹⁴ do dēnam in Tuir ¹⁵Nebrōith, dia ¹⁶ro scāiltea na bērlai. ||

¹⁷Nebroth imorro feisin, mae Chaus meic Chaim meic Noe. Is e in Faenius remrate tuc Berla Fēne on Tur: γ is aice bui in seol mor oc foglaim na n-il-berla.¹⁷

103. The text of *Min.* in this § follows μΑ, variants from μR unless otherwise stated; missing in μV ¹-berat ²Baad ³Goimeir ⁴-feth ⁵γ ins. mc [Noe om.] ⁶Feinius Fars. — Variants in R¹ from F unless otherwise stated.

⁷-om. ⁸mac Goimer ⁹Iafet

103. Others say that Baath was son of Ibath s. Gomer s. Iafeth, and from him are the Gaedil and the people of Scythia: and Feinius Farsaid was a son of his.

Baath, [one of the two sons of Ibath] s. Gomer s. Iafeth, of him are the Gaedil and the people of Scythia. He had a son, the noble eminent man whose name was Feinius Farsaid. [It is he who was one of the seventy-two chieftains who went for the building of Nemrod's Tower, whence the languages were dispersed.]

Howbeit, Nemrod himself was son of Cush s. Ham s. Noc. This is that Feinius aforesaid who brought the People's Speech from the Tower: and it is he who had the great school, learning the multiplicity of languages.

¹²Sgeithia ¹³⁻¹⁵in taissech amra airigda ¹⁶Feinius Farsaid ¹⁷is e siden ¹⁴⁻¹⁶darna taissech lxx. dochuaid ¹⁸Nemhruid ¹⁹ro sgaita na berlla (sic, the sprs. vowels appear to be inserted in a different ink) ²⁰om.

104. Dā mae la ¹Fenius
i. ²Noeniul, foracaib for
 flaithius na Seithia dia ēis;
7 Nēl, ³in mae aile, ⁷ hicon
 Tur rucad-side. Oeus ba
 suī-side na n-il-⁴bērla,
⁵conad hē rofuead ⁶ind
 Egipt, do ⁷foglainm na n-il-⁸
 bērla ūad. ⁹Tānic imorro
⁸Foenius ond Assia doehum
 na Seithia as a luid do
 dēnom in Tuir¹⁰; conerbait
⁹hi flaithius Seithia, ¹⁰hi
 cend cethrachat bliadan,
⁷ dorat ¹¹tāsidecht dia mae,
 de ¹²Noenal.

Dā mae imorro ¹³batar
 oe Foenius: ¹⁴i. Noenual,
⁷ in ¹⁵dala mae, || ¹⁶foracaib
⁷ i ¹⁷flaithius na ¹⁸Seithia dia
 ēis; Nēl, in mae aile, ¹⁹icon
 Tur ²⁰rucad-side. ²¹Oeus ba
²²suī-side na n-uile mbērla,
 conid aire tācas ⁷ ar a
 chend || ⁶ Foraind d'fog-
 laim na n-il-bērla²² ūad.
 Tānic imorro ²³Foenius
 assind Assia doehum na
²⁴Seithia, assa l-luid do
 dēnam in ²⁵Tuir²⁶; coner-
 bait ²⁷i flaithius na Seithia,
⁷ i cind cethrachat bliadan,
⁷ ²⁸co tarat tōsigecht dia
 mac, do ²⁹Noenal.

105. ¹Hi cind dā bliadan
²ar cethrachait īar seor ³in
 Tuir, rogab Nīn mae ⁴Peil
⁵rīgi ⁶in domain.

⁵Hi cind dā bliadan ceth-
 rachat trā īar ndēnam⁵ in
 Tuir, rogab Nīn mae Bēil
⁶rīge in ⁷domuin.

⁸Ar nī ro thriall nech aile
 smachtugud⁸ na tūath no na

104. ¹ Feinius Farsaid ² obscured in μΑ by grease; looks like Noenul: Feinual (sic, the capital N being miswritten) foracaib i flaithius na Seithia μR ³an mac ele ⁷ icon ⁴berla (bis) ⁶conide ⁷an Egipt, a small g written above the ip ⁸foglainm ⁹tainie ⁸⁻⁹Feinius on Assia doehum na Seithia asa luid doehum na Seithi (sic) an tuir (sic) ⁷i flaith na Seith- ¹⁰i cinn ¹¹toisigeet ¹²Nenual ¹³badar ic Feinius ¹⁴om. i.: Nenual ¹⁵dara ¹⁶fodroacaib

104. Feinius had two sons: Nenual, whom he left over the princedom of Seythia behind him; and Nel, the other son, and at the Tower was he born. Now he was a master of the multiplicity of languages, so that it is he who was taken into Egypt, to learn from him the multiplicity of languages. But Feinius came from Asia to Seythia, whence he had gone for the building of the Tower; so he died in the princedom of Seythia, at the end of forty years, and passed on the chieftainship to his son, Nenual.

105. At the end of forty and two years after the cessation of [work on] the Tower, Ninus son of Belus took the kingship of the world.

Now Feinius had two sons: Nenual, [one of the two], whom he left in the princedom of Seythia behind him; Nel, the other son, at the Tower was he born. Now he was a master of all the languages; wherefore one came [to summon him] from Pharao, in order to learn the multiplicity of languages from him. But Feinius came out of Asia to Seythia, whence he had gone for the building of the Tower; so that he died in the princedom of Seythia, at the end of forty years, and passed on the chieftainship to his son, Nenual.

At the end of forty two years after the building of the Tower, Ninus son of Belus took the kingship of the world.

For no other attempted to exercise authority over the

¹⁰flaitus ¹¹Sgeithia ¹²ic ann ¹³rucad e ¹⁴om. 7 ²²⁻²⁷Si si
 esiden is na hill berla conad ar a cenn sin tangas o Forand flait (lenition-
 mark of t very faint) Egibt do oghloim na mberlad ²²Feinius asin Assia
²³Sciathia ass do luid (a stroke over the second s sec. man.) ²⁴tulir
 (dittography caused by change of line). ²⁵ins. Nemruaid i. Nemruad m.
 Cuis m. Caim m. Nae ²⁶a flaitus (sic) Seithia a cind da sichid bliadan
²⁷dorad taisigecht ²⁸Ninual.
 105. ¹i cinn ²om. ar ³an (bis) ⁴Beil ⁵⁻⁶a cin da

²n-il-chenēl do thabairt fō ¹⁰ōen māin, ¹ fo chis¹⁰ ¹ fo chāin, acht ¹¹seisium a öenar. ¹²Tōesig imorro batar ¹³and reme, i.e. in fer ba ¹⁴hūasle ¹ ba mō rāth ¹⁵issim tūaith, ¹⁶issē ba cend comairle do chāch: no ¹⁷choised ceech n-ēcoir, no gressed ceech¹⁷ cōir. ¹⁸Ni thriallad insaigid no smacht eenēl aile.

106. Is i sin ¹trā aimsir ²hi r-ro genair ³Gāidel Glass—

'Is hī sein trā amser hi ro genair Gāedel Glass t̄ ötat ⁴Gāedil ||, o ⁵Scotta ingen Foraind. Is ⁶uadi ainnmigtir "Scuitt" de Gāedelaib, *ut dictum est*⁶

Fēne o Feinius asbertar...

107. — ro chum ¹in mbērla tōbaide as na dīb bērlaib sechtmogat: ²hit ē innso a n-anmann-side —

Is ē ¹Gāedel Glass ro chum in nGāedilg¹ as na dā bērla ²sechtmogat: ³it ē inso ⁴a n-anmann-side, ⁴Betin, Seitin, etc.^(a) ⁵*Unde poeta cecinit*

Bērla in domain, dēchaid lib . . .

scied bliadan ¹ da deich tra ar nenam ²rigi ³domain ⁴⁻⁵ar nir triall neach aili smachtugadh ⁶hil-chenela L: n-ill-chenel do tabair (a final t̄ yo sprs.) F ¹⁰⁻¹⁰zen smacht i, fo chiss ¹¹aesiuñ a aenur ¹²taiissig ¹³ann (the stroke over the n yc) reme ¹⁴wasla wrongly in O'Curry's transcript of L: huaisli F ¹⁵isan ¹⁶is e ba cemū comairli ¹⁷⁻¹⁷chosnad each ecoir no gresad each ¹⁸om. ni: do triallad insaigid cenel ¹ smachtugad ar cenalaibh aili.

106. ¹om. ²om. hir. ³Goidil Glas — ⁴⁻⁵i sin tra aimser i rogenir Gadiil Glas otait: to this is is prefixed (sprs.) in a late and

peoples or to bring the multitude of nations under one hand, and under tax and tribute, but he alone. Aforetime there had been chieftains: he who was noblest and most in favour in the community, he it was who was chief counsellor for every man: who should avert all injustice and further all justice. No attempt was made to invade or to dominate other nations.

106. That is the time when Gaedel Glas was born—

Now that is the time when Gaedel Glas, [from whom are the Gaedil] was born, of Scota d. Pharao. From her are the Scots named, *ut dictum est*

Poem no. X.

107. — who formed the Elect Language out of the seventy-two languages: these are their names —

It is Gaedel Glas who fashioned the Gaelic language out of the seventy-two languages: these are their names, Bithynian, Scythian,^(b) etc. *Unde poeta cecinit*

Poem no. XI.

bad hand. ¹Scota ingen Forain ²⁻³uad ainmaigter Sguit do Gaedilaib amail isbert in fili.

107. ¹an berla ²it e innso a n-anmann (om. side). — ³Gāedil (om. Glass) do chum in Gaedelg ⁴sechtmogat L: a lenition-mark over the e in O'Curry's transcript, but I cannot trace it in the M.S. ⁵is iat so ⁶om. F; apparently also om. sL, and yc L ⁷is dia chumigad sin adbert in fili na briathra.

(a) See p. 78.

(b) See the note on this ¶, and below, p. 148.

107A. [At this point Min. interpolates a version of the passage, beginning Ceithre randa (below, ¶ 142). Its readings are there recorded. The passage is not found in R.]

108. Srū 'trā mae Esrū meie ²Gāidil, is ē ³tāisech do Gāidelalib luid a ⁴Hēigipt eo ro ⁵bāigead Foromn. Sechtmoga 7 ⁶ceitre cēt bliadan ò ⁷dilind conaice sin.

Srū mac Esrū ⁸trā meie Gāidel, ⁹issē tōesech do ¹⁰Gādelalaib luid a ¹¹Hēigipt ò ro ¹²bāded ¹³Foraind ¹⁴conā slūag i m-Muir ¹⁵Rūaid, ¹⁶in degaid mae n-Israhel ||. Sechtmoga 7 secht cēt bliadain ò dilind ¹⁷eo sin.

¹⁸Ceathracha 7 ceithre cēt bliadan o n-amsir sin inār ¹⁹bāidid Forann 7 o thainic Srū mae Esru a Heigipt cosand n-amsir tāneatar Meic Milidh in Erinn i. Eber 7 Eremón: dia n-ebart¹⁸

Cethracha 7 ceithri cēt . . .

109. Lucht ceitre long luid Srū a ¹Hēigipt, 7 ceitre ²lānomna fíelit, 7 triar ³amus gach lunga.³ Srū ⁴ a mac ⁵i. Eber ⁶Scott, batar eat tōisich na loimsgi 'sin.

Lucht ¹²cethri long luid Srū a ¹³Hēigipt ¹⁴ 7 ¹⁵cethri lānamna fíchet eacha ¹⁶lunga, ¹⁷ triar ¹⁸amus eacha ¹⁶lunga.¹⁷ Srū 7 a mae i. Eber ¹⁹Scott, batar

108. ¹om. ²Goidil ³toisech: a full stop after Gaidelaib μR
⁴Hegipt ⁵bāidid Forann ⁶uii. ⁷dilinn coniū —
⁸om. ⁹is e toissach ¹⁰Gaedilib ¹¹Haeigift ¹²bāid
¹³Foronn ¹⁴om. conā slūag and m- ¹⁵Romuir for Ruaid 1. ¹⁶in
eagaid mae n-Israhel ¹⁷coniū ¹⁸⁻¹⁹this passage and the appended
verse in F only: marks of contraction and lenition in ceathracha touched
up sec. man. ¹⁹lenition-marks added to the d's sec. man.

108. Now Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel, he it is who was chieftain of the Gaedil who went from Egypt until (sic) Pharao was drowned. Four hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then.

Now Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel, he it is who was chieftain for the Gaedil who went out of Egypt after Pharao was drowned [with his host in the Red Sea in the wake of the sons of Israel]: Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then.

Four hundred and forty years from that time in which Pharao was drowned, and after Sru s. Esru came out of Egypt, till the time when the sons of Mil came into Ireland, to wit Eber and Eremón: wherancen [one] said—

Poem no. XII.

109. Four ships' companies strong went Sru out of Egypt, with twenty-four wedded couples and three hirelings for every ship. Sru and his son

109. ¹Hegipt ²amna ³⁻³amas eacha lungai ⁴om. 7 ⁵om. i.
⁶Scot ⁷om. sin ⁸⁻⁸bái Noenal ua Feiniusa i flathius (a) ⁹ins. 7
¹⁰om. ¹¹richtain na — ¹²ceitri ¹³Eghept (what looks like
an aspiration-mark, now very faint, inserted before the E in a later bad
hand) ¹⁴i. for ¹⁵ceitri F: triar L, erased and cethri substituted
¹⁶lungi (bis) ¹⁷⁻¹⁷dittographed and erased L ¹⁸amas ¹⁹⁻²⁰Scot, ba

(a) *atbath* has evidently dropped out of the Min. tradition; μR has doctored the text, but μ_A has been imperfectly successful in doing so.

† Is ī sin aimsir ²⁰Noenail ua (sic) Feniusa, flatha^s na Scithia. || ²¹Marb Srū ²⁰dana fōcētoir īar ²¹riachtain Scithia.

iat tōesig ua l-longse.²⁰
† Is ²⁰in tan sin atbath
²¹Noenual mae Baath meic Noenail meie Feniusa Farsaid ²¹i. flaithe na ²²Scithia, ²³ || ²⁴marb Srū ²⁵dana ²⁶fōchētōir ²⁷īar rochtain na Scithia.

110. Gabais Ēber ¹Scott rīgi na Scithia † ²er ēcin || ³os clainn ³Noenual, co torchair la ⁴Noenius mae ⁵Noenual. Bāi cosnam etir Noenius ⁶l ⁷Boamain mae Ēbir ⁸Scuitt. Gabais ⁷Boamain rīgi co ⁹torchair la ¹⁰Noenius. Rogab ¹¹trā ¹²Noenius ¹³flaitheas, co torchair la ¹⁴Hogomain mae Boamain an dīgail a athar. Rogab Ogamain rīgi conerbait. Gabais ¹⁵Rephill mac Nemi rīgi co torchair la ¹⁶Taitt ¹⁷mace ¹⁸Ogamain. Do rochair ¹⁹Taitt īarom do ²⁰lāimh Refloir meic ¹⁷Rephill. ²⁰Bōi cosnam

Gabais Ēber ²²Scott † ar ²³ēcin || rīge na Scithia os chlained Noenual,²³ ²⁴co torchair la Noemius mae Noenual.²⁴ ²⁵Bōi cosnam ²⁶etir ²⁷Noemius ⁷ ²⁸Boamain mae Ēbir Scuitt. Gabais ²⁸Boamain ²⁹rīge ³⁰co torchair la Noemius. Gabais Noinus flaitus co torchair la Hogaman mae mBoman i ndigail a ³¹athar. Gabais Ogaman rīgi³⁰ conerbait. Gabais ³²Rifill mac ³³Noemius rīgi co torchair la ³⁴Taitt mac Ogaman. Do rochair ³⁵Taitt īarom do lāim ³⁶Refloir meic Rifill. ²⁵Bōi cosnam ³⁷flathiusa ³⁸īarom

hiat taissig na loingsi sin ²⁰ann amsir ²¹⁻²⁴Nenuail uha (sic) (a) Feiniusa rogar Noenuel mae Baait meic Nenuail meic Fenus (written Féu;) Farrsaid ²²Sgeithia ²³om. ⁷ ²⁴barb ²⁵dono ²⁶fochethoir L fo.c.oir F ²⁷īar riachtain Scethia.

110. ¹Scot ²ar ēcin ³Noenual ⁴Naeinius ⁵Noenual ⁶ins. mae Nenuail ⁷Boamain (bis) ⁸Scuitt ⁹torchair ¹⁰Noenius ¹¹om. ¹²Naeinius ¹³rīgi ¹⁴Hogamain m. Boamain ¹⁵Rephill (bis) ¹⁶Taitt (bis) ¹⁷mace ¹⁸om. ¹⁹lāim ²⁰bai ²¹Aghnon m. Tait ²²Scot ²³⁻²⁵eigin rīgi na Sgeithia os elaind Nenuail

Eber Scot, they were the chieftains of that expedition. [That was the time of Nenual grandson of Feinius, prince of Scythia.] Sru died immediately after reaching Scythia.

Eber Scot, they were the chieftains of the expedition. [It is then that Nenual s. Baath s. Nenual s. Feinius Farsaid, prince of Scythia, died: and] Sru also died immediately after reaching Scythia.

110. Eber Scot took the kingship of Scythia [by force] from the progeny of Nenual, till he fell at the hands of Noemius s. Nenual. There was a contention between Noemius and Boamain s. Eber Scot. Boamain took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Noemius. Noemius took the principedom till he fell at the hands of Ogamain s. Boamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took the kingship till he died. Refill s. Noemius took the kingship till he fell at the hands of Tat s. Ogamain. Thereafter Tat fell at the hands of Refloir s. Refill.

²⁴⁻²⁶om. ²⁵bi (bis) ²⁶itir (bis) ²⁷Noinus (written Nōiūs hic et ubique, except Noenul once) ²⁸Boaman (bis) ²⁹rīgi ³⁰⁻³²om. L ³¹athair ³²Rephill ³³Nemin rīgi ³⁴Tait m. Ogaman ³⁵Tait īarom ³⁶Refloir meic Refill ³⁷flathusa ³⁸om. īarom: O'Curry's transcript of L inserts here Rifill meic, but I cannot trace or find room for these

(a) The ms. has the appearance as though the scribe first wrote uia, and he or another afterwards changed the l to an h in ink of a slightly different colour. C

īarom etir Refloir mac ²⁶etir Refloir mac ²⁹Noemi
Refill ⁷ Agnon mac Tait, ⁷ ⁴⁰Agnon mac Taitt, co
eo torchair Refloir la torchair Refloir ⁴¹la
²¹Hadnon mac Taitt. Hagnon.⁴¹

111. Conid aire sin ro ¹⁸Conid aire sin ro
hindarbha sūl ²nGāidil innarbat¹⁸ sūl ¹⁹Gāedil for
for muir, i. ³Adnon ⁷ muir, i. ²⁰Agnomain ⁷
Lāmhfind a mae, combatar Lāmhfind a mae, co mbatar
secht mbliadna for secht mbliadna for
muir ⁵timeall in domain ²¹timehiull in domain
⁶atūaidh. Is lia tuirim ⁷ atūaid. Is lia ²³tuirim an
aisnēis in ro ⁸chēsatar do ro ²⁴chēsatar d'ule. † Is
ulce. † Is aire tucadh aire thuad Lāmhfind for
⁹Lāmhfind fair, ar nī ¹⁰mō mac ²⁵Agnomain, ar nī ba
badis soillsi ¹⁰coinnle ¹¹indaat ¹²a lāmha hieon imram. ²⁶
mō soillsi chaindell andate²⁵ a lāma ²⁶ocond imram. ||
Teora longa dōib, ¹³cengul eturro [. . .] fri
araile.¹⁸ Trī ¹⁴tōisig batar ²⁷eturru, na digsed cāch dīb
acco īar n-ēc Adhnoi¹⁴ īar n-ēc ³⁰Agnon
forsin ¹⁵muineind mōr- ³¹forsin muinciund mōr-
mara Caisp i. ¹⁶Lāmhfind ³²Lāmhfind ⁷
¹⁷Alldoit ⁷ ³³Caicher drui.

words in the original MS. They are not in F. ²⁹Naime ⁴⁰Ogaman
m. Tait now lost from L: restored from O'Curry's transcript ⁴¹⁻⁴¹om.
111. ¹-ta ²μ_λ innarbtha ³μ_R ²om. n- ⁴Agnon ⁴Lamfind
⁵timchell an ⁶atūaid ⁷chesastar ⁸Lamfinn ⁹ba mor
¹⁰written oile ¹¹cainle ¹²indat ¹³a lāma oeon ¹⁴⁻¹⁵cach
dīb a cengal fri araile ¹⁶⁻¹⁷tōisich dōib īar n-ēc Agnon ¹⁸muineind mōr-
¹⁹Lamfinn ²⁰Elloit ¹⁸⁻¹⁹con aire sin ro hindarbad ¹⁹nGāedil
²⁰Agnon ⁷Lamfind (the latter hic et semper) ²¹timeell ²²atūaidh
²³turim: then follows si which has been erased and annsin do substituted
²⁴cesadar ²⁵⁻²⁵nAgnoin ar na ba soillsi caennell annit ²⁶ocon n-
²⁷⁻²⁷aturu na dechsad cāch o cheili ²⁸taissaig ²⁹aca ³⁰Agnoin
³¹isin muincid (sic) mara. The sin of forsin not traceable in L, restored

Thereafter there was a contention between Refloir s. Refill and Agnomain s. Tat, till Refloir fell at the hands of Agnomain s. Tat.

Thereafter there was a contention for the principedom between Refloir [grand]son of Noemius and Agnomain s. Tat, until Refloir fell at the hands of Agnomain.

111. For that reason was the seed of Gaedel driven forth upon the sea, to wit Agnomain and Lamfhind his son, so that they were seven years upon the sea, skirting the world on the north side. More than can be reckoned or related are the hardships which they suffered. [The reason why he was called Lamfhind was, because not greater used to be the radiance of a candle than his hands at the rowing.] They had three ships with a coupling between them <that they should not separate> from one another. They had three chieftains after the death of Agnomain on the surface of the great Caspian Sea, Lamfhind and Allot and Caicher the druid.

For that reason was the seed of Gaedel driven forth upon the sea, to wit Agnomain and Lamfhind his son, so that they were seven years on the sea, skirting the world on the north side. More than can be reckoned are the hardships which they suffered. [The reason why the name Lamfhind was given to the son of Agnomain was, because not greater was the radiance of candles than his hands, at the rowing.] They had three ships with a coupling between them, that none of them should move away from the rest. They had three chieftains after the death of Agnomain on the surface of the great Caspian Sea, Lamfind and Allot and Caicher the druid.

from O'Curry's transcript ²⁴The f in Lāmhfind and similar names never dotted in F: ²⁵Find ⁷ Alldoit . . . drui now lost from L, restored from O'Curry's transcript ²⁶Alloth ²⁷Caicer drui.

112. Is ē Caicher dorat dōib¹ leges² for medradh na murdūchunn,³ i. cēir do⁴ leghadh na clūasaib.⁵ Conus ruce in gōeth isin⁶ occian mōr, co ro⁷ cēsaiset mōr⁸ ngorta⁹ n-ītadh; co terachtatar i¹⁰ cind secht-maine in rind mōr ūtā Slēib¹¹ Ripli lotnāidh,¹² conid¹³ isin rind sin fuaratar¹⁴ topur co mblās fina, co ro¹⁵ loingsit ann, ¹⁶ batar trī¹⁷ láithe¹⁸ teora haidehe ann i n-a codlad: ¹⁹ conerbairt Caicher friu: ²⁰ Ēirgidh, nī²¹ anfum de co²² risem co Hērinn. Cia²³ airm atā²⁴ Ēriu? ar²⁵ Lāmfinn. ²⁶ Is sia ūait indā in Seithā, ²⁷ nī²⁸ sinni fēin²⁹ rosficefa ar chenn, acht ār clann, hi cind trī cēt mbladian.³⁰

Is ē in³¹ Caicher³² drui dorat³³ in leges dōib,³⁴ dia mboi in murdūchand oea medrad,³⁵ i. ³⁶ bōi in cotlud oea forraich³⁷ frisim eōl. Is ē³⁸ in³⁹ leges suair Caicher dōib, i. cēir do legad na⁴⁰ clūasaib. Is ē Caicher⁴¹ ro rāid friu, dia⁴² rue in gāeth⁴³ mōr iat⁴⁴ issin n-ocean,⁴⁵ co ro chēsaiset mōr re gortai⁴⁶ re hīttaid and: co torachtatar i cind⁴⁷ secht-maine⁴⁸ in rind mōr atā a Slīab Rifi fo thūaid: ⁴⁹ conid isin rind sin⁵⁰ fuaratar topor co mblās⁵¹ fina, co ro longset and, co mbatar trī laa⁵² teora aidehe⁵³ na⁵⁴ cotlud andsin. Conerbairt Caicher drui,⁵⁵ Ērgid, ar sē,⁵⁶ nī⁵⁷ anfam⁵⁸ eo r-risam Hērind. ⁵⁹ Cia hairm atā⁶⁰ ind Hēriu? ar Lāmfinn mae⁶¹ Agnōin. Is⁶² fate, ar⁶³ Caicher, andäs in Seithā,⁶⁴ nī⁶⁵ sind fēin rie, ar Caicher,

112. ¹ om. ²⁻³ ar medrad na murduchonn ³ legad ina ⁴ conarne in gaeth ⁵ ocean mōr siar ⁶ sed ⁷ ngortaid⁸ itaid ann ⁸⁻⁹ cīnu tsechtrmaine i rinn mōr otha Slīab Rife fotusid ⁹ om. isin: rinn-sin ¹⁰ tobar ¹¹ set ¹² om. ¹³ la ¹⁴ iiii. aidehe ¹⁵ conerbairt ¹⁵ gid ¹⁶ anfam, the f yo μR ¹⁷ risam Erinn ¹⁸ hairm ita lan Er-, the la (an erroneous anticipation of Lamfind) partly erased ¹⁹ Lāmfinne ²⁰ isia and om. uait ²¹ sinne ²²⁻²³ rie acht ar clann bi cīnu eec. blisdan ²⁴ Caicer hic et semper ²⁴ om. ²⁵ dorind F: this word defaced in L by grease: O'Curry's transcript gives dorigni leges, but his i should be ī (= in) and the letter before it is certainly v. The preceding ī is not quite so clear, but the letter can hardly be anything else: and the p before that, though faint, is beyond doubt. Dorigni is

112. It is Caicher who gave them a remedy against the melody of the Sirens, namely to melt wax in their ears. So the wind took them into the great Ocean, and they suffered much of hunger and thirst; till at the end of a week they reached the great promontory out northward from the Rhipaean Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were asleep there three days and three nights. But Caicher said to them: Rise, we shall not rest therefrom till we reach Ireland. What place is 'Ireland'? said Lamfhind. It is further from thee than Scythia, and not we ourselves shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred years.

It is Caicher the druid who gave the remedy to them, when the Siren was making melody to them: sleep was overcoming them at the music. This is the remedy which Caicher found for them, to melt wax in their ears. It is Caicher who spake to them, when the great wind drove them into the Ocean, so that they suffered much with hunger and thirst there: till at the end of a week they reached the great promontory which is northward from the Rhipaean Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were three days and three nights asleep there. But Caicher the druid said: Rise, said he, we shall not rest until we reach Ireland. What place

however a preferable reading, and appears in *Q ²⁰ om. in ²¹⁻²² diambai in murduchann aea mbregad ²³⁻²⁵ bi in collad ea forarrach ²⁶ om. in ²⁷ leig; ²⁸ om. and yo L ²⁹ adubairt ³⁰ rosfue ³¹ om. mor iat ³² isin. acean ³³⁻³⁴ cor cessadar mor do gorta³⁵ ditaid and eo torchrat a cind ³⁶ i rind moir o tsleib Rifi fo tuaid ³⁷ conad ³⁸ fuardar tobair ³⁹⁻⁴⁰ fina cor loingsid ann combadar tri la ⁴¹ tri haidehi (an accidental blot, not a lenition-mark, above and to the right of the d) ⁴¹⁻⁴² codlad annsin conerbairt (sic) Caicer drai ⁴³ ins. ⁴⁴ co raisim Er ⁴⁵ Ca ⁴⁶ om. ind: Er ⁴⁷ Agnomaid ⁴⁸ fata ⁴⁹⁻⁵⁰ Caicer drai inan Sgethia ⁵¹ ni

acht är cland riefat, i cind
trī ⁴⁹chēt m bliadan öndiu.⁴⁸

113. Gabsat ¹imorro is na
Gaethlaigib ²Medontaeda,
γ is ³andsin rucad mae do
⁴Lāmfind, i. Ēber Glūn-
find⁴ † i. ⁵comarthai gela
batar for a ⁶glūnibh ||. Is
ē ba tōisech ⁷dar ēis a
athar. ⁸Hua dōside Febri
† Glass ||, hua dōside
Nuadho.⁸

⁹His aire ¹⁰dono ro ¹¹hindarb-
tha Gāidil asin Seithia, i
¹²einaidh ¹³marbtha Refloir
meie ¹⁴Rephill meic. ¹⁵Noemi
meie Noenuail meic Baith
meic Ibaith meie ¹⁶Foeniusa
Farrsaid.

114. Brath mac ¹Deatha
meic^(a) Ercada meic Alldoit
meic Nuadat meic ²Noennu-
aill meic Febri Glaiss meic

¹⁷Gabsat īarsin ¹⁸na
Gaethlaige Meoteeda, ¹⁹acuis
is ²⁰andsin rucad mae do
Lāmind, i. Ēber Glūnfind
† ²¹i. ²²comartha gela
²³robatar for a ²⁴glūnib ||.
Is ²⁵hē ba tōesech dar ēis
²⁵a athar. Ua ²⁶dōside,
Febri † ²⁷Glūnfind ||, ua
²⁸dōside, ²⁸Nuado.

sin fen reichfis acht ar cland a cind tri. .e.c.e. bliadan oniu (bliadan sprs.
sF) ⁴⁹chēd in O'Curry's transcript, wrongly.

113. ¹om. ²Medote γ is annsin ³the ·sin sprs. yg μΑ ⁴Laimfinn
... Glunfinn ⁵comarda ⁶glūnib ⁷tar ⁸⁻⁹na dosin Febria Glas
ua do-saide Nuada ⁹is ¹⁰dana ¹¹innarbtha Goidil ¹²cinaid

(a) Written μεc μΑ.

(b) This genealogy in a marginal column in L.

is that 'Ireland'? said Lamfhind s. Agnomain. Further than Scythia is it, said Caicher. It is not ourselves who shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred years from today.

113. Then they settled in the Maeotic Marshes, and there a son was born to Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind: [white marks which were on his knees]. It is he who was chieftain after his father. His grandson was Febri [Glas], his grandson was Nuadu.

Thereafter they settled in the Maeotic Marshes, and there a son was born to Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind: [white marks which were on his knees]. He it is who was chieftain after his father. His grandson was Febri [Glunfhind (sic)], his grandson was Nuadu.

This is why the Gaedil were driven forth from Scythia, for the crime of slaying Refloir s. Refill s. Noemius s. Nenuail s. Baath s. Ibath s. Foenius Farrsaid.

114. Brath s. Death s. Brath s. Death s. Ercha
Ercha s. Allot s. Nuadu s. s. Allot s. Nuadu s. Nenuail
Nenuail s. Febri Glas s. s. Febri Glas s. Agni Find
Agni s. Eber Glunfhind s. s. Eber Glunfhind s.

¹³om. ¹⁴Refill ¹⁵Noemil m. Nenuail ¹⁶Feniusa — ¹⁷gabsad
¹⁸is na Gaethlaigib Meobaeda ¹⁹om. γ ²⁰annsin ²¹om. i.
²²comartada ²³badar ²⁴glūnib L ²⁵⁻²⁶e ba taissach deis ²⁶oɔri (bis)
which might be either dosin or doside F. It is dofe in L ²⁷sic L, Gl. F:
it should be Glas ²⁸Nuada.

Agni meic Ēbir ³Glūnfind
⁴meic Lāimfind⁵ meic
⁶Agnoin meie Thaitt meic
 Ogomain⁷ meic Beoamain
 meic Ēbir Scuit.

Occe ⁷Ucce da mac ⁷Alldoit
 meic ⁸Noenail meie Nemid
 meic ⁷Alldoit meic ⁹Ogomain
 meie Thotachta [meic] Theth-
 righ⁸ meic Ēbir Duib meic
⁷Alldoit meie Agnoin. Mantan
 mac Caichir meic ¹⁰Ereadha
 meic ¹¹Coemhechta meic
 Soethachta¹¹ ¹²meic Mantan¹²
 meic Caicher ¹³drūad.

Is ē Brath mac ¹⁴Deatha
 tānic assin nAlbain air-
 teraig¹⁴

do crīch Narboscorda, dar
 sruth nEoxanda, dar Slebi
¹⁵Riphi, do na ¹⁶Goethlaigi
 Meotachdai, eo Muir ¹⁷Torren,
 dar cumgaib ¹⁸fotaib Mara
 Torrian do ¹⁹Elispoint, dar in
²⁰n-ucht Maeidonda ²¹don ucht
²²Pamphileeda, dar inis Tir do
 inis Crēit, do inis ²³Caissiop,
 dar inis ²⁴Cephail, do inis
 Crēit, do Murruse na Pelorda,
 do inis Sieil, dar ²⁵enn Slēbe

Glais meic ⁵⁶Agni Find
 meic Ēbir ⁵⁷Glūnfind meic
 Lāmfind meic ⁵⁸Agnomain
 meic ⁵⁹Thaitt meic ⁶⁰Oga-
 main ⁶¹meie Boomain meie
 Ēbir Scuit meie Srū meic
 Esrū⁶¹ meie ⁶²Gāidil ⁶³Glais
 meie Niūil meic Feiniusa
 Farsaig.⁶³

Is ⁶⁴hē in Brath ⁶⁵tānic
 as na ⁶⁶Gaethlaigib

iar fut Mara Torrian do
⁶⁷Chrēit, ⁷do ⁶⁸Shicil. Rōisit
 eo Hespāin īarsain.

Lamfhind s. Agnomain s. Lamfhind s. Agnomain s.
 Tat s. Ogainain s. Boamain s. Eber Scot s. Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel Glas s. Nel s. Feinius Farsaid :

Occe and Ucce, two sons of
 Allot s. Nenual s. Nemid s.
 Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht
 [s.] Tetrech s. Eber Dub s.
 Allot s. Agnomain. Mantan s.
 Caicher s. Ercha s. Coemthecht
 s. Soethecht s. Mantan s.
 Caicher the druid.

This is that Brath s. it is that Brath who
 Death who came out of came out of the Marshes
 Eastern Albania

to the land of Narboscorda,^(a) over the Euxine River,^(b) across the Rhipean Mountain, to the Maeotic Marshes, to the Torrian Sea, by the long straits of the Torrian Sea to the Hellespont, by the Macedonian Gulf to the Pamphylian Gulf, by the island of Tyre to the island of Crete, to the island of Coreyra, by the island of Cephallenia, to the island of Crete, to the shore of the Pelorians, to the island

(a) On this name see the notes.

(b) The Bosphorus.

Hetna, dar leth an Mara
²⁶Torren, do Sardain, do
²⁷Chorsie, do inis Sardi, darsin
²⁸Ler mBreda, do ²⁹munciund
³⁰Gaidain, do innsib Sab, do
³¹Cholomnaib Ereoil i. Talpes
³²Habenna a n-anmann, don
 Gaeth ³³dianid ainnm Coir, dond
³⁴Abhys ³⁵immetraigh ³⁶nem-
 forenedhaigh, do ³⁷Espāin, do
³⁸fidhduimnibh ³⁹Pyrinetaib.

⁴⁰corgabsat ³⁷Espāin ar
 ēcin :

⁴¹ fíchset ceithre catha cōicat
⁴²forro o thūs eo ⁴³deireadh :
⁴⁴eo ro cumtacht ⁴⁵eathraich
⁴⁶and la ⁴⁷Bregunn mae
 Bratha. Ocus ⁴⁸turgaib tor ann
 ar a hinehaib, conid ⁴⁹ass
 atchess Ēriu iarom, ⁵⁰hi fescor
 gaimhrigh.⁵⁰

114. ¹ Death m. Erchada m. Alloit ²Nenuail m. Eb. Glais ³-finn
⁴ om. μΑ ⁵⁻⁸Tait m. Tait (sic) m. Ogamain ⁹Uicce ¹⁰Alloit (ter)
¹¹thc e sprs. yc μΑ: Nōinēl μR ¹²⁻¹³Ogamain m. Totachta Tetrig
¹⁴Erchada ¹¹⁻¹²Coemtechta m. Soeta ¹²⁻¹²om. μR ¹³drnadh and
 ins. m. Eber Seuit ¹⁴⁻¹⁵Death tainic asin Albain airtheraig ¹⁵Rife
¹⁶Gaethlaigib Medote ¹⁷Toirr- ¹⁸fota Mara Toirren ¹⁹Elispoint
²⁰om. n. ²¹donducht ²²pilecdai ²³Caisioib ²⁴Cepail
²⁵ceann Sleibe Ethna ²⁶Toirren ²⁷Coirsie ²⁸Leribreda
²⁹-cind ³⁰-diani ³¹col- ³²Abennai ³³a faint dot over the d μΑ:
 dianad μR ³⁴aihys ³⁵eathraich ³⁶dot of lenition over g very
 faint μΑ-nedaigh ³⁷Hesp. (bis) ³⁸fiddruimnibh ³⁹Pymetaib μΑ
⁴⁰congabsat ⁴¹om. μR ⁴²ins. caechat (a) ficsed: forru túš ⁴³déad

of Sicily, across the top of Mount Etna, by the side of the Torrian Sea, to Sardinia, to Corsica, to the island of Sardis, over the Balearic Sea to the surface of the Strait of Gibraltar, to the Strong islands,^(c) to the Columns of Hercules, (Calpe [and] Abyla are their names) to the swamp called Coir, to the outmost bottomless abyss [the Atlantic Ocean], to Spain, to the Pyrenaean wood-ridges

till they took Spain by force. They took Spain by force.

And they fought fifty and four battles there first and last, and a city was built there by Bregon s. Brath. And he erected a tower there to protect it, and thence was Ireland seen thereafter, on a winter evening.

both MSS. ⁴⁴conrotacht ⁴⁵eo traig μΑ ⁴⁶ann ⁴⁷Bregainn m.
 Bratha ⁴⁸tureib ⁴⁹ann atces ⁵⁰⁻⁵⁰om. ⁵¹Erehadha
⁵²Alloit ⁵³Nuadhad ⁵⁴Nenuail ⁵⁵Febrig ⁵⁶Agnoin Find
⁵⁷Gluinfind ⁵⁸Agnamaid ⁵⁹Tait ⁶⁰Ogaman ⁶¹⁻⁶¹om. and ins.
 sec. man. in upper marg. of column: m. Beomain m. Ebir Scuit i. (sic)
 Sru m. Esru ⁶²Gaedil ⁶³⁻⁶³om. and ins. o tait Gaedil ⁶⁴o
⁶⁵ins. sin (b) ⁶⁶Gaethlaigibh ar fud ⁶⁷Creit ⁶⁸⁻⁶⁸Sicir γ do
 rinchtatar eo Eshain iar sin: gabsad Eshain ar eicin.

(a) Although .liii. catha is written just before.

(b) Brath sin in F looks as though it had been inserted in a different ink (*prima manus*). There is no trace of an erasure.

(c) See the note on this paragraph.

115. Agnon ¹dana mac Tait, is ē ²Gāedel-tōisech tānic asin² Seithīa. ³Dā mac leis, Lāmfind ⁴ Elldoit. Aen maee Lāmfind,³ i. Ēber 'Glūnfind. Mac ⁵dono ac⁶ Elloit i. Ēber Dub, hi ecomainsir is na Gaethlaigib ro fucait. Dā ⁷hua occ^(a) ⁸hi comflaitius i. ⁹Toithecht mac Tetrig⁸ meic Ēbir Duib, ⁷ ¹⁰Noenual mac ¹¹Febrigh meic Aigne¹⁰ meic Ēbir Glūnfind; ⁷ ¹¹Sothett mac Mantan meic Caicher.

¹²Agnōn trā mac Taitt, isse tōesech tānic de Gāelaib assin Seithīa. Dā mac lais i. Lāmfind ⁷ Elloth.¹² ¹³Ōen mac ie Lāmfind ¹⁴i. Ēber ¹⁵Glūnfind. Mae ¹⁶don Elloth ¹⁴i. ¹⁷Ēber Dub, i ¹⁸comamsir is na Gaethlaigib. Dā ¹⁹hua occ^o i comlaith i. Toichecht mac Tetrig¹⁹ meic Ēber Dub acus ²⁰Noenel mac ²¹Febrī meic ²²Agni meic Ēber ²³Glūnind: ⁷ ²⁴Soechecht mac Mantan meic ²⁵Cachir.

²⁶Ucca ⁷ Ocea, dā mac Aldoith ²⁷meic Noenil meie Nemid meic Alloid²⁷ meie ²⁸Ogamain meic Thoechta meie Teitrig meic Ēber Dub meie Elloit.²⁸

116. Lucht cetheora long trā tāncatar 'Gāidil eo ²Hespāin. Ceithre ³lān-omna ⁴dēcc, ⁷ sē ⁵hamais cen mnā ⁶cecha lunga. ⁷Brath, lucht lunga. Ucce ⁷ Occe, ⁷ Ucce, [‡] dā mac Alloit ||,

Lucht ²⁰cethri long trā tāneatar Gāidil eo ²¹Hespāin. ²²Cethri lānamna dēc eech lunga,²² ⁷ ²³secht n-amois cen mnāa.²³ ²⁴Brath, lucht lunga. Ucce ⁷ Occe,²⁴ lucht dā long: [‡] dā brāthair

115. ¹ om. ²⁻² Goidel-toisech tainic assin ³⁻³ om. ⁴-finn ⁵⁻⁵ dana ic ⁶ua ⁷i comflaith ⁸⁻⁸ Toitech m. Tethrig ⁹ Nenbual ¹⁰⁻¹⁰brig m. Agni ¹¹ Sohett m. Mantan ¹²⁻¹² Agnoman . . . Tait, ise Gaedil-toissach tainic asin Scethia. Da mac leis i. Lamfind ⁷ Alloth ¹² aen ¹⁴ om. i. (bis) ¹⁵ Glūnfind ¹⁶ ic Alloth F: O'Curry's transcript has don ic Elloth, which I cannot find in L ¹⁷ the b under-

115. As for Agnoman s. Tat he is the Gaidil-leader who came forth from Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfhind and Allot. One son had Lamfhind, Eber Glunfhind. Allot had a son, Eber Dub: at the same time as <the sojourn> in the Marshes was he born. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub, and Nenual s. Febrī s. Agni s. Eber Glunfhind; there was also Soithecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

As for Agnoman s. Tat, he is the leader of the Gaedil who came out of Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfhind and Allot. Lamfhind had one son, Eber Glunfhind. Allot had a son, Eber Dub, at the same time as <the sojourn> in the Marshes. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub, and Nenual s. Febrī s. Agni s. Eber Glunfhind; there was also Soithecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

Uccc and Ocee, two sons of Allot s. Nenual s. Nemed s. Allot s. Ogamain s. Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Eber Dub s. Allot.

116. Four ships' companies strong came the Gaedil to Spain: in every ship fourteen wedded couples and seven unwived hirelings. Brath, a ship's company. Ocee and Ucce, Ucce and Ocee,

dotted L ¹⁸ comainsir ¹⁹⁻¹⁹ ua aeo i comlaitus i. Toitechta m. Teitrig ²⁰ Nenual ²¹ Febrig ²² Aigne ²³ Glūnfind ²⁴ Sothechta ²⁵ Caic- ²⁶⁻²⁶ om. ²⁷⁻²⁷ added sea. man. in marg. L ²⁸ the m in Ogamain and the ee in Thoechta underdotted L [such underdotting, which has no obvious meaning, is a frequent feature of L].

(a) This form has probably arisen by confusion with the proper name Occe.

lucht dā long. Mantan, lucht ⁸lunge. Trī catha imorro ro brisetar: ⁹cath for ¹⁰Toseno, cath for ¹¹Bacra, cath for ¹²Longbardu. Co ¹³tānic tānh dōib, conapthatar¹³ ceithre ar ficheit dīb ¹⁴dē. ¹⁵Nocho tērno as na dā luing acht dā ¹⁶chōicēuir, ¹⁷im ēn mac ¹⁸nOicce ¹⁹im ²⁰Un mac ¹⁹nUcce.

²⁵iat i. dā ²⁶mac ²⁷Elloid meic ²⁸Noema meic Nemid meic Alloit meic Ogamain.²⁷ || Mantan²⁶ † ²⁹mac Cachir drūad meic Erchada meic Oitechta,²⁹ || lucht ³⁰lunga. ³¹Trī catha imorro ³²ro brissiset īar ndul in Espāin,³² i. cath for ³³Toseno, cath for Longbardu, cath for ³⁴Barehu. Co ³⁵tānic tām ³⁶forru, conapdatar³⁶ ceithre ar ficheit dīb, inn ³⁷Occe ¹ im Ucce. Noco tērna ass na dā luing acht dā cūiger,³⁷ im ēn mac ³⁸Occe ¹ ³⁹Un mac ³⁸Ucce.

117. ¹Macc maith ²hic ³Bāi mac maith ic ⁴Brath, ⁵Brath, Breogond a ainm.⁵ i. Breogan, candernad⁶ ¹⁰in Is ⁷laiss ro cumdaigedh⁴ Tōr ¹¹ in ¹²chathir .i.

116. ¹Goidil ²Hespaine ³amn- ⁴dēc ⁵amais ⁶cech longa ⁷⁻⁷Brat dana lucht a lunga ⁸lunge ⁹ins. i. ¹⁰Toisenu ¹¹Bachra ¹²Longbarda ¹³⁻¹³tainic tam doib conapthatar ¹⁴om. ¹⁵nocha ¹⁶ecicer ¹⁷um (bis) ¹⁸nUce ¹⁹nUice — ²⁰ceitri ²¹Espain ²²⁻²²om. F. O'Curry's transcript has ceitri, but the mark of lenition is there, though very faint ²³⁻²³morfeisir amu3 can a mna ²⁴⁻²⁴Brat lucht lungi Oco ¹ Uce ²⁵ind ²⁶mac underdotted L (bis) ²⁷⁻²⁷Alloit meic Nenuaill m. Nemid m. Alloit m. Ogaman m. Toitechta m. Teitrig m. Ebir Duib m. Alloit m. Oghaman ²⁸O'Curry and Facs. read this name Noenill: the ms. is not quite clear. The following name, Nemid, is torn from L

[the two sons of Allot], two ships' companies: [two two ships' companies. Mantan, a ship's company. They broke three battles—one against the Tuscans, one against the Baera, one against the Langobardi. But there came a plague upon them, and four and twenty of their number died thereof. Out of the two ships none escaped, save twice five men, including En s. Ooce and Un s. Ucce. But there came a plague upon them, and four and twenty of their number died, including Ooce and Ucce. Out of the two ships none escaped, save twice five men, including En s. Ooce and Un s. Ucce.

117. Brath had a good son, Breogan by name. By him was Braganza founded,

Brath had a good son named Breogan, by whom was built the Tower and

and here restored from O'Curry's transcript ²⁰⁻²²om. F. The lenition-mark in Erchada is worn away, and omitted by O'Curry ²⁰luigi (sic) ²¹ins. mac Caicir meic Erchada m. Caemthecht m. Toitchechta m. Mantan m. Caicir Druid fecit profesim ¹ (yc F sprs.) mac Ehir Echruaid m. Ogaman. (a) The letters in square brackets have been scraped away ²²⁻²²do brisid īar nul an Esbain ²³might be Toisend L: Toisinchā ¹ cath for Long barda F ²⁴Bareu ²⁵tainic ²⁶⁻²⁶fora conaptatar ²⁷⁻²⁷Oici ¹ Uici contra terno as na da luing acht da u. (da u. also in L) ²⁸Uici (bis) ²⁹ins. im.

(a) Written Ogaan.

(b) This is the right name: the ms. reading is incorrect.

Brigantia, ¹ ⁵rogñith in ¹³Brigantia ainnm na ¹⁴cath-rach. A Tur ¹⁵Bregoin ⁵ut supra diximus. Unde Gilla ⁷Coeman inorro atches Hériu; fesur lāthi gemreta atoscondaire¹⁵ Ith mac ¹⁶Bregoin, ¹⁷unde Gilla Coeman cecinit,¹⁷

Gāedel Glas ḍat Gāedil

Second Reduction.

(V 2 β 6; E 2 α 9; P 2 β 30; D 3 δ 23.)

118. Ro ¹aitreb trā ²Nēl mac ³Foeniusa Farsaid ⁴thes in ⁵nEigipt.

⁶Issē ferand rogab, ar ⁷imlib Mara ⁸Rūaidhi, ⁹im Capacirunt,^(a) ¹⁰bāi andsin ¹¹eo rossēlasad Meic Israel ¹²Forand ¹³slūagh Ēgip̄ti. Oeus is ed dolotar Meic ¹⁴Israel, for ¹⁵ind ēlod sain, cosin ferand a mbāi Nēl ¹⁶mac i. ¹⁷Gāidel Glass. Ro gabsat trā Meic Israel longport ¹⁸ie Capacirith,^(a) for brū Mara ¹⁹Rūaidi. Is ²⁰andsin do riacht Nēl mac Fēniusa da ²¹n-aeallaim; ²²is ²³andsin dorala ²⁴Arōn † brāthair Aprāim || do Nēl: ²⁵ro ²⁶indis Arōn dō scēla Mac nIsrahel, ²⁷ferta ²⁸mirbuile ²⁹Maisi, ³⁰amail tucait na dēee ³¹plaga † foillsi ³²fiadnuise || for lueht na ³³Hēgip̄ti trē na ndāerad-som. Oeus do ³⁴snāidmsid caradrad annsin, ³⁵dober Nēl fin ³⁶cruithnecht

117. ¹ Mac ²la ³⁻⁴Brath brath (b) Bregain aium ⁴⁻⁵leis ro cumdaiged ⁵⁻⁶úrogñith (sic) an tor ⁷Coeman and om. cecinit — — —
⁸bi ⁹⁻¹⁰Brat i. Brogan ieanernnad ¹⁰om. in ¹¹ins. mBrogain ¹²chathair ¹³Brigansia ¹⁴catrach ¹⁵⁻¹⁶tur Brogain inoro atches Er-, fesgor gemrid (om. lathi) ideonaire ¹⁶Brogaind ¹⁷⁻¹⁸amail ro chan G. Caemhain.

118. ¹ aitreibh trath E aitrehb P aithreb D ²Nēl ED ³Foeniusa E Fēniusa P ⁴tes an E theas P tes in D ⁵Eigipt (no g sprs. to b) E Eigip̄it P Egipt D ⁶ise P. From here to ¶ 126 (i), om. ED and substitute: conerbait ⁷co ro baided Forand Cingeris [Forainn Cineris D]

and the Tower made, *ul* the city — Braganza was the city's name. From Breogan's Tower it was that Ireland was seen; an evening of a day of winter Ith s. Breogan saw it. Unde Gilla Coemain cecinit —

Poem no. XIII.

118. So Nel son of Feinius Farsaid dwelt southward in Egypt.

This is the estate which he received, upon the shores of the Red Sea, and around Phi-Hahiroth: and he was there till the Sons of Israel escaped from Pharaon and from the host of Egypt. Now it fell out that the Sons of Israel, in that flight, came to the estate where Nel was, and his son, Gaedel Glas. The Sons of Israel took camp at Phi-Hahiroth, on the border of the Red Sea. Then Nel son of Feinius came to converse with them: and there Aaron [brother of Abraham (sic)] met Nel; and Aaron told him tidings of the Sons of Israel, and the miracles and marvels of Moses, and how the ten plagues—[a clearness of testimony!—were brought upon the people of Egypt by

i [im D] Muir Ruaidh. Do comhlaiset [comhlaisct D] iarsin clanna Niul ¹Seota ingiae Foraind [-nn D] i. [iis, hi D] ceithri longaib ²ceithri [ceithri D, bis; an i, now very faint, sbs. the first time], etc. ³imlip P

⁴Ruaidh P ⁵coruselasit mie P ⁶sluag Egip̄, with t sprs. P

⁷Isral- V Isrl- P ⁸inn cloidh sin gusan bferann i mbai P ⁹dh- P

¹⁰ig P ¹¹Ruaidh P ¹²ann- P (bis) ¹³nagaliam P ¹⁴Aaron P

¹⁵innis Arōn dō scēla P ¹⁶Maisi sprs. yc V: Maoissi P ¹⁷plagha P

¹⁸fiadnacha V fiadnusecha P ¹⁹Heigip̄ti tre na ndaorad-somh P ²⁰·sit P

(a) In VP this is written as though two words: Capa cirunt, Capa cirith.

(b) Dittography due to change of line: a meaningless flourish added in ms. to the top of the a.

do tūathaib Dē do lōn. Ocus dochuaidh Arōn iarsin co hairm a mbāi ²⁵Maisse, γ ro ²⁶indis dō ind ²⁷fāilte fuair ²⁸ic Nēl, γ in maith ro ²⁹gell re ³⁰Macaib Israhel. Ocus ba buidech ²⁵Maisse do Nēl de sin.

119. ¹Imtussa Niul imorro, (a) issi ind ²aidebe sin ro benastair ³nathair neme ⁴rissin mae mbie ⁵rucad (b) do Niul, i. Gāideal Glas, γ ro bo confocus bass idé, † Co ropa uaithe fuair-sin ainnmuidlugh i. Gāidel Glass. || Ocus rucad in mae ar amus Maisse, γ dogni Maisse urnaide i ndicra fri Dia, γ dorat in fleise n-urdair frissin inud in ro ben in nathair fris, cor bo slan ⁶in mae. Ocus ro ráid Maisse iar sin: Cet len-sa, ar se, do chet Dia, na ro icoitigi nathair dom mae so, na duine dia sil eo brath; γ na ro aitreba nathair tir bunaig a clainde. Ocus bed, ol sē, ríga γ ruigh, naim γ fireón, do sil in meic so; γ bidh an indsi tunisceart in domain bias aitreab a chinigh. Conid edb sin fodera cen ⁷nathraigh an Erian, γ cen ureoit do ⁸denam do nathair fria duine do sil Gaidil Glas.

120. Is andsin ro ráidh Nēl: Doria Forann eucaind, ol se, γ no dáerfa sinn, ar in failti doratsom daibsi, γ i cinaidh cen bar nasstod. Tair-¹siu lindi, ol Maisse, con t'ulib muindtearib isin sligid ambaireach, ocus madh ail duit, fogaeba comroind forba issin tir ro tairngir Dia do Macaib Israhel. No mad ferr lat, doberam-ne liberna Foraind ar do commus, γ eirgigh indtib for muir, γ fuirgíd co fesár eindass seerum-ne γ Forand, γ dēna do chomairle assa haithle.

121. Docomlai in lín bāi is na longaib, γ ro fuirig co féicedh gnímrada in lāi iar na māraeh: i. dluigi Mara Rúaid in diaig in popuil, γ badug Foraind eona slūagaib inti i. sē fiehit mili coisighi γ eōica mile marach, is e lín luid i n-dāil bāis, do muindtir Foraind, i Muir Rúaid.

²⁵ Maisi P (bis)

²⁶ innis P

²⁷ failti P

²⁸ ag P

²⁹ geall P

³⁰ maeuip P.

^{119.} ¹-thusa P ²aidhqi P ³an atair P ⁴risin P ⁵rug- P
⁶in ye V (bis) ⁷dittography of a due to a change of line
 denom, the o changed to a.

⁶ rug- P
⁸written

reason of their enslavement. And they ratified a friendship there, and Nel gives wine and wheat to the peoples of God for provision. So Aaron went thereafter to the place where Moses was, and told him of the welcome which he had received at the hands of Nel, and the good which he promised to the Sons of Israel. Moses was grateful to Nel for that.

119. Now as for Nel, in that very night a serpent stung the little son that had been born to him, to wit Gaedel Glas, and death was near to him. [From that circumstance he received his name, Gaedel Glas.] And the lad was carried to Moses, and Moses made fervent prayer before God, and put the noble rod upon the place where the serpent had stung him, so that the lad was cured. And thereafter Moses said: I command, by the permission of God, that no serpent harm this lad, or any of his seed for ever; and that no serpent dwell in the homeland of his progeny. There shall be, he said, kings and lords, saints and righteous, of the seed of this lad; and in the northern island of the world shall be the dwelling of his race. This, then, is the reason why there are no serpents in Ireland, and why no serpent does harm to any of the seed of Guedel Glas.

120. Then it is that Nel said: Pharaō shall come to us, said he, and shall enslave us, for the welcome that we have given you, and for the guilt of failing to hinder you. Come thou with us, said Moses, with all thy people, upon tomorrow's route, and if thou wilt, thou shalt receive an equal share of heritage in the land which God hath promised to the Sons of Israel. Or, if thou dost prefer, we shall put the pinnacles of Pharaō at thy disposal: embark ye therein upon the sea, and stand ye by, to know by what means we shall separate us from Pharaō, and thereafter do thy good pleasure.

121. The company that was in the ships set forth and they stood by to see the transactions of the following day: the division of the Red Sea in the wake of (sic) the people, and the drowning of Pharaō with his hosts therein—six score thousand footmen and fifty thousand horsemen, that is the tally which went to meet death, of the people of Pharaō, in the Red Sea.

120. ¹ siu ye V.

(a) A sentence lost here from the R² text, but preserved in R³: see § 144.
 (b) Here P breaks off. Till § 126 V is our only authority.

122. Otehonaire imorro Nel Forand cona sluagaib do bādugh, ro an issiud ferund cētna, ar ni bai namun air and: 7 ro forbair a cland 7 a sil in nEigipt iarsin, corsat milidh mōr-chalma a cland. Marb Nel iarsin iar cein mair, isin nEigipt. Gabais Goedel Glass 7 a mathair in ferand, 7 ro genair mae do Gaedel iar sin, i. Esru mae Gāidil: 7 ro genair mae dō-saiden is tir ectna, i. Sru mae Esru meie Gāidil Glais.

123. Dala sluaigh Eigipite imorro iarsin, gabais Forand Tuir in flaithus tar eis Foraind Cingeris. Oeus ba Forand tuilled anma eech rígh roghab Eigipt, otá Forand Cingeris eo Faró Nectenibus. Oeus ba heside 7 in cōieedh ri triehat no 11 in cōieedh ri dée iar Forand Cingeris ro baidedh i Muir Ruaidh. Oeus ba ar eūis onóraigthe adbertha riú-son sin-sen.

124. Imtusa Foraind Tuir iarsin 7 sluaigh Eigipti, 6 ro batar co tren, ro cuimhnigset an anbfolaid mbunaid do clandaib Niúil 7 d'fine 'Gáidhil, i. a caratrad re macaib Israhel, 7 longa Foraind do breith do Niul leiss, in tan do eladar Meic Israhel. Ro moradh eocad 7 anhfolta for clandaib Niúil iarsin, eo ro hindarbud a Hegipt iat.

125. Sru 7 7 a mac, i. Eber Scot 11, iss fat ba taisich do Gaedelaih ic an indarba. Sechtmoga 7 secht cēt bliadan 6 dilind conice sin: cethracha 7 ceithre cēt bliadan on aimsir sin inar hāideth Forand 7 6 hanie Sru mac Esru a Hegipt cosin aimser i tancatar Meic Miled i Erenn. Dia nebrad,

Cethracha 7 cethri cēt

126. Doecomlaiset iarsain clanda Niu(i)l 7 Seota ingen Foraind i. i eetri longaib, 7

'ceitri lānamna 2fiehet in 3eeph luīng, for Muir 'Rūaidh, do Inis 5Deprofāne, 6timchull 7Slēibe Ríphi 8atūaidh, co 9rāncatar Seithiā: 107 consūisit im 11flaithus Seithiā'

124. ¹ Gaidhil *yc* V.

126. ¹ *Here* ED resume. .uū. (reinked as .iii.) V, ceitri ED 7-11 E

122. Now when Nel saw Pharao with his hosts drowned, he remained upon the same estate, for he had no fear there: and his progeny and seed increased in Egypt thereafter, so that his progeny were warriors of great valour. Thereafter Nel died, after a long space, in Egypt. Gaedel Glas and his mother took the estate. Thereafter a son was born to Gaedel, Esru s. Gaedel: and to him was a son born in the same land, Sru s. Esru s. Gaedel Glas.

123. But as for the host of Egypt thereafter, Pharao Tuir took the princedom after Pharao Cineris. Now "Pharao" was an additional name of every king who took Egypt, from Pharao Cineris to Pharao Nectanebus: and he was the [thirty-fifth—or] the fifteenth—king after Pharao Cineris who was drowned in the Red Sea. It was for the sake of honouring them that this (name) was bestowed upon them.

124. As for Pharao Tuir thereafter and the host of Egypt, when they attained strength, they called to mind their hereditary hostility against the progeny of Nel and the family of Gaedel: the friendship which these had shown to the Sons of Israel, and Nel's taking of the ships of Pharao with him, when the Sons of Israel escaped. War and hostilities were increased upon the progeny of Nel thereafter, till they were expelled from Egypt.

125. Sru [and his son Eber Scot], they were the chieftains for the Gaedil at the expulsion. Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then: four hundred and forty years from that time when Pharao was drowned, and from when Sru son of Esru came out of Egypt, to the time when the Sons of Mil came into Ireland. Whereanent this was said—

Poem no. XII.

126. Thereafter the progeny of Nel, and Seota daughter of Pharao, collected in four ships,

with twenty-four wedded couples in each ship, upon the Red Sea, to Taprobane Island, around the Rhipaeon Mountain northward, till they reached Scythia: and

²gach E each D

³Ruad D

⁵-faine E

⁶-ceall E -choll D

⁷Sleibi Ribhthi E

⁸atuaid D

⁹ranghadar E -gatar D

¹⁰⁻¹¹om. in text and ins. in upper marg. E: consnisid E -set D

¹¹flaithius D

¹²clanda Niūil ¹³Noenual, dā mac Feiniusa Farsaid,
¹⁴ōnd aimsir sin eo haimsir ¹⁵Refelair mieie Nema ¹⁶Miled
meie ¹⁶Bile, † . ¹⁷Galum a ainnm. ^(a)|| Mōr do ¹⁸cathair
¹⁹do ¹⁹chongalaib ¹⁹do ²⁰choiethib ¹⁹do ²¹singalaib ro
²²imirset ²³etoru frissin rē sin, ²⁴co ro gon Miled mae
Bile Refelair mae Nema. Dā bliadain dēec ar ²⁵nōe
²⁶cētaib ro ²⁷būi in ²⁸cosnum sin.

127. ¹Doluid Miled for longais ²iarsain: ³ceithre
⁴longa dōib, ⁵coic ⁶lānumna dōc, ⁷anns, in ⁸each luing
⁹dib. Lotar ¹⁰timehell na ¹⁰Hassia ¹¹sairdless eo ¹²Hinis
¹³Deprofāne. ¹⁴Ansat trī ¹⁵mīss intī. Trī ¹⁵mīss ¹⁶aile
¹⁷dōib for mnir, eo ¹⁸rāneatar ¹⁹Eigipt, ²⁰hi cind ceitre
bliadan cōicat ar trī cēt ar ²¹mile īar cēt-gabail ²²Ērenn
do Parthalōn sin. Hi ²³cind imorro ceithre bliadan dēec
ar nōi cētaib īar ²⁴mbādudh ²⁵Foraind ²⁶i m-Muir ²⁷Rūaidh
²⁸rāneatar ²⁹Eigipt in tan sin.

128. ¹Forond Nechternibus ba rī ²ind ³Eigipt ind inbaid
sin. ⁴Hiss ē sim in ⁵coicēd rī dēc ar fachit ⁶iarsin Forand
ro ⁷bāiged ⁸i m-Muir Rūaidh: ⁹ba sī ind aimsir sin
doluid Alaxandir Mōr mae Pilip isin ¹⁰nAsia, eo riacht
¹¹Eigipt, ¹²dobreth ¹³ind ¹⁴Eigipt dia rēir, ¹⁵ro dichuir
in ¹⁶Eigipt, ¹⁷do chart a rīg Nectenipus a Hēighipt ¹⁸ind

²²clannda D ¹²Neaubail E Noenbail D ¹⁴on ED ¹⁵Relair E
¹⁶Bili E ¹⁷Galum D ¹⁸chathairib D ¹⁹con- E -uib D ²⁰choctaib E
²¹singalaib ^{corrected to} -gal- VE -uib D ²²-sed E -seit D ²³final n
written in error and corrected to u V: etorra frisin ED ²⁴cor E
²⁵na; E noi D ²⁶ced- E ²⁷baoi E boi D ²⁸cosnam D.

127. ¹-dh E ²iarsin ED ³u.iii. written in V and corrected by
dotting the minims of the u: ceitri E ⁴longai doibh E ⁵lainamhna
^b
(written lai²namna) E lanamna D ⁶ambus E ⁷gach E eech D
⁸dibh ED ⁹timeall E ¹⁰Haisia E ¹¹sairrdes E sairdes D
¹²liniss D ¹³aine E ¹⁴ansad E ¹⁵mīs ED (bis) ¹⁶oile D
¹⁷doibh E ¹⁸rangadar E, rangatar D ¹⁹Eighipt E Eigipt D
²⁰i cinn ceitri mbl. E ²¹mīle īar goed ghab. E ²²Eir. do Partalon E

the progeny of Nel and of Nenual, the two sons of Feinius Farsaid, contended in the matter of the princedom of Scythia, from that time till the time of Refloir son of Noemius and of Mil son of Bile [whose name was Galum]. Many battles and conflicts and wars and kin-murders did they wage between them during that time, till Mil son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir son of Noemius. Nine hundred and twelve years did that contention last.

127. Thereafter Mil came into exile. They had four ships, with fifteen wedded couples, and a hireling, in every ship. They went south-east around Asia to Taprobane Island. They stayed three months therein. Three other months had they on the sea, till they reached Egypt: that was at the end of one thousand three hundred fifty and four years after the first Taking of Ireland by Partholon. They reached Egypt at the end of nine hundred and fourteen years after the drowning of Pharao in the Red Sea.

128. Pharao Neectanebus was king of Egypt at that time. He is the thirty-fifth king after the Pharao who was drowned in the Red Sea. Now it was in that time that Alexander the Great, son of Philip, came into Asia and arrived in Egypt, and brought Egypt into obedience to himself, laid Egypt waste, and drove out her king

Herenn do Phartalon D ²³cinn im, ceitri E ²⁴mbad- E mbadhud D
²⁵Foraind ED ²⁶a E ²⁷Ruaidh E Ruad D ²⁸rangatar ED ²⁹Eigipt D.

128. ¹Forann Neictinibus E Forann Nechtinibus D ²om. ind E: ind
Eigipt D ³his ED ⁴coig. E ⁵iarsind Foraind D ⁶baidh E
baidh D ⁷i E ⁸bai sin aimsir doluid Alsgandair E aimser and
om. sin; Alaxandir D ⁹Aisia E Aissia D (both om. n-) ¹⁰The
spelling of this word varies at random between Eigipt (the commonest
form), Eighipt, and Eigipt ED ¹¹an Eighipt E in Eigipt dia rer D
¹²do diechair na Heigeptagda ¹³do chard a righ Neiectinibus a Heigeipt E:
¹⁴dicuir . . . arrig Nechtinibus a Hegipt D ¹⁵in n-Fiteoip E

(a) Written, by a scribal freak AinM, E.

Eitheōip; ⁊ ro ¹⁴chumtacht prīmhathair laiss ind Eīgpt, i. Alaxandria a haimm. ¹⁵Anaiss trā Miled mae Bile ¹⁶oeht mbliaidna ¹⁶in ¹⁷Eīgpt, ⁊ ro ¹⁸foglaindseat a ¹⁹muinnter ²⁰prīmdāna ²¹indti: i. ²²Sētga ⁊ ²³Sobairchi ⁊ ²⁴Suirge fri ²⁵sāirse, ²⁶Mantan ⁊ Caicher ⁊ Fulman fri ²⁷druidheacht. Batar ²⁸buadlaint ⁊ ²⁹batar ³⁰brethem-naigh in triar ³¹aille, i. Goiscean ⁊ ³²Amargen ⁊ ³³Donn: batar ³⁴eathbñadhaig in triar ³⁵aille, i. Mīlid ⁊ ³⁶Oece ⁊ Ucee.

129. Ó ro airig Mīlidh fainne ⁊ aīnnerte do ²thiach-tain ³do 'Forand, ⁴celebrais dō: † ⁊ nī ⁵hūnam ⁶beitir, ⁷aecht ro ⁸tairngirsid a ⁹drūidhe rīgi ⁊ ¹¹ferand do gabāil ¹²dō. || Doluid trā Miled īarsin, † in ¹³līn cētna, || ⁊ ¹⁴Scota ¹⁵ingen ¹⁶Foraind Nechtenibus ¹⁷laiss do ¹⁸muaī, comad aire ¹⁹adbertha Scota ²⁰fria, ar ba Scot aīnm a ²¹fir, īar mbunadus ²²dana in ²³ceneōil dianid aīnm Seuit; ⁊ ²⁴is īar ²⁵cenēl a fir ²⁶sloinnter ²⁷cech ben ²⁸is tīr sin.

130. Dolotar īarsin for Muir 'Rūaidh. ²Rōisit co Hinis ³Deprofāne, ⁊ ⁴ansat ⁵mīss inntē. Ocus^(a) lotar ⁶timehell, sech India ⁊ ⁷Aissia ⁊ ⁸timehell na Scithia ⁹Clochaigi ¹⁰ammuich, for in Muir ¹¹nIndeeda ¹²fothñaidh, co ¹³rāncatar ind ¹⁴acian ¹⁵tūaiscertach † for ¹⁶in Muir Immechtrach ||, do ¹⁷inbiur Mara Caisp. ¹⁸Ocus gabsat tast trī nōmadha, for Muir Caisp, ¹⁹fri dord na

Etheoibp D ¹⁶cumdaecht priomhathair lais an E, e. primhathair lais in Eīgpt (*the final t badly made, and improved sec. man.*) D ¹⁷anais ED: uii. D ¹⁸an E ¹⁹Eīgpt D ²⁰foghlaimsed E foglainnset D ²¹muindter E ²²priomdāna E ²³indi D ²⁴Sedga E Settg D ²⁵Sobairee E -chin D ²⁶Suirgi E ²⁷sairsi E saeiri D ²⁸Mantan E ²⁹draidecht E draidechtt D ³⁰Buadlaintnd E -luind D ³¹badar E ³²firbreathaig E firbrethaich D ³³naile E eli D: Goisgen E Goscen D ³⁴Aimhrgin E ³⁵Dond E ³⁶bug- *changed to buad-* E: -duigh D ³⁷naile E ³⁸Oiccoe ⁊ Uga E Oicce ⁊ Uicee D.

129. ¹aimhnertmuire E ²tichtain D ³eo E go D ⁴Forann E Forann D ⁵ceileabhras E -bras D: de sprs. sec. man. in very faint ink V ⁶huaman D ⁷itir E etir D ⁸ED ⁹tairngirsad E -rset D ¹⁰draithe righe E draoidhiu righe D ¹¹ann D ¹²dho E ¹³lion E

Nectanebus from Egypt into Ethiopia; and a capital city, called Alexandria, was founded by him in Egypt. Now Mil son of Bile tarried eight years in Egypt, and his people learned the principal arts there—Setga, Sobairee, and Suirgo learned craftsmanship, Mantan, Caicher, and Fulman learned druidry. One remaining three, Goseen, Amorgen, and Donn were arbitrators and judges: the other three, Mil, Oeoo, and Uece, were battle-conquerors.

129. When Mil perceived that weakness and loss of strength had come upon Pharao, he took leave of him: [by no means from fear, but because his druids had promised to obtain kingship and territory for him.] So Mil came thereafter, [the same tally] and Scota daughter of Pharao Nechtenibus along with him as wife. For this reason was she called Scota, because her husband was called Scot, that is to say according to the origin of the race called “Scots”; and every woman in that country was surnamed according to her husband’s race.

130. Thereafter they came upon the Red Sea. They rowed to Taprobane Island, and tarried there a month. Then they went around, past India and Asia, and around Scythia Petraea outward, on the Indian Sea northward, till they reached the Northern Ocean [upon the Outer Sea], to the estuary of the Caspian Sea. They held their peace for three weeks, upon the Caspian Sea, by reason

¹⁴Scoto D ¹⁵ghiuin D ¹⁶Forainn Nectinibus E, F. Nechtin (sic) D ¹⁷lais ED ¹⁸muaī E mnoi D ¹⁹at- D ²⁰frie D ²¹fir E ²²dono D ²³ein- E chen- D ²⁴om. D ²⁵ein- E ceneol D ²⁶sloindter E sluinntir D ²⁷each E ²⁸isin ED.

130. ¹Ruad D ²roisid īar sin co E roiset go D ³-faine E ⁴-sad E ⁵mis ED: inti D ⁶timeheall see E ⁷Aisia E Assia D ⁸timceall E ⁹ge E -ghe D ¹⁰amuigh E ¹¹-echdha E, n-Innecla D ¹²-aid D ¹³gadar an E -gatar ian D ¹⁴aigian E ¹⁵tuas- D ¹⁶an muir Imech. E ¹⁷inbhir E ¹⁸⁻¹⁹om. and ins. in lower marg.

(a) In the text of D written thus: lot- timehell sechin dia ⁊ Assia. The words are re-written with the correct spacing in marg. in a late and bad hand. In V a small o is inserted (*prima manus*) above and between the I, n, of India.

¹⁹murdūchand, eo ²⁰rustesairg Caicher ²¹druī. ²²Issc
²³leigis suair dōib, i. cēir do ²⁴legad na ²⁵clūassaih, ²⁶conna
²⁷clōistis in dord ²⁸sin. ²⁹Rāisit ³⁰īarsain † seōlad sē
³¹samlāithi || forsin ³²ocean siar, eo ³³rāncatar ³⁴Muir
Liuis, do ³⁵Chorōnis; 7 for ³⁶muineind Mara ³⁷Poinnt;
³⁸7 ³⁹rāisid sech ⁴⁰rind ⁴¹Slēibe Riphī ⁴²atūaidh. Oeus is
⁴³andsain ⁴⁴asbert ⁴⁵Caicher friu, Inill ⁴⁶arō, ni ⁴⁷anfem
de, ^(a) i. ni ⁴⁸fnil ⁴⁹fass ⁵⁰duind ⁵¹eo roisim in ⁵²indsi
⁵³n-ūassail, † i. ⁵⁴Hēreo. ||

131. Rāiset īarsim eo ¹cend ²mbliadna forsin ³n-ocean
siar, eo rāncatar na ⁴Gaethlaigi ⁵Meotachta ⁶atūaidh;
sech Germain, a lām fri ⁷Tracia, eo rāncatar Dacia.
Oeus ⁸ansat ⁹mīss i nDacia ¹⁰atūaidh; din muir ¹¹Egeta,
sech Gothiam, forsin Muir ¹²nElispoinntidhe, do inis
¹³Tenedho for Muir ¹⁴Torrian siar, do ¹⁵Crēid 7 do ¹⁶Sieil
- do ¹⁷Belguint^(b) 7 Breguint, do ¹⁸Cholomnaib Hereail,
don ¹⁹muineind ²⁰Gatian, hissin nEspāin trē-villig.

132. ¹Ceithre cath ²cōicat ^(c) ³ro rāinsit ⁴rempo for
⁵Fresseno 7 for Longbardaib 7 ⁶Bachraib, 7 ⁷ro ⁸gabsat
Espāin ar ⁹ēigin: 7 ro ¹⁰euantaiged ¹¹cathir and la
¹²Breogund mac ¹³Bratha, † i. ¹⁴Brigancia ainn na
cathrach, || 7 tor for a ¹⁵inchaib. Oeus is òn ¹⁶tur sin

(with Caish) E; nomada, Chaisp D ¹⁰morduchann E -chom D ²⁰ros. DE
²¹draidh E ²²ise ED ²³leiges E leges D ²⁴legh- E ²⁵cluasaib E
cluasuib D ²⁶cona ED ²⁷dis E clos. D ²⁸om. ED ²⁹ed E -et D
³⁰īarsin ED ³¹the ED ³²aic. E forsin nocean D ³³rāgadar
(sic) E rangatar D ³⁴Muir (dittographed) Liphis E, Muir Libiss D
³⁵Coroin. E -niss D ³⁶cend E -cian D ³⁷Pointic E Point D
³⁸om. 7 E ³⁹ed E -et D ⁴⁰rian D ⁴¹bi ED: Ribti E ⁴²atuath D
⁴³andsin E aannsin D: written audsin V ⁴⁴aspert D ⁴⁵Cacher E
⁴⁶ard D ⁴⁷ainfem ED ⁴⁸fil E fail D ⁴⁹fos D ⁵⁰duin ED
⁵¹eo roisimm E go roisem D ⁵²innse E ⁵³n-ūasail D ⁵⁴Ereo D.
131. ¹cenn D ²om. m- ED ³oician (om. n-) D ⁴Gaetl- E -ge D
⁵eda E ⁶atuaid ED ⁷Tracia E ⁸ansatt D ⁹mis E mīss D

of the crooning of the Sirens, until Caicher the druid delivered them. This is the remedy that he found for them, to melt wax in their ears, so that they should not hear that crooning. Thereafter they rowed, [a sailing of six summer days] upon the Western Ocean, till they reached the Libyan Sea and Cercina; and upon the surface of the Pontic Sea; and they rowed past the promontory of the Rhipaeon Mountain northward. There it is that Caicher said to them *Inill aro, ni anfem de*, which means, We have no rest till we reach the noble island, [i.e. Ireland].

131. Thereafter they rowed to the end of a year upon the Western Ocean till they reached the Maeotic Marshes in the north: past Germania, alongside Thracia, till they reached Dacia. They tarried a month in Dacia northward; from the Aegean Sea, past Gothia, upon the Hellespontine Sea, to the island of Tenedos upon the Torrian Sea westward, to Crete, to Sicily, to Belgia and Burgundia (?), to the Columns of Hercules, to the surface of (the Strait of) Gibraltar, in three-cornered Spain.

132. Fifty-four battles did they win before them against the Frisians, and the Langobardi, and the Barchu, and they took Spain by force: and a city was founded there by Breogan son of Brath, [named Braganza],

¹⁰-aid ED ¹¹Egreta E ¹²nElispointide E nEilispointeide D ¹³edo ED
¹⁴Torren D ¹⁵Creid E Chreid D: Creid re-linked to Creit V ¹⁶Sicil D
¹⁷Bealguint 7 Bregaint E ¹⁸Col. Erc- E ¹⁹·chiond E -ciunn D
²⁰Gadian E Gaddiain D isin n- Esbain E: hisin and om. n- D.

132. ¹Ceitri E ²ed E -et RD ³ro rainsit V ro racinsed E
⁴pa ED ⁵Fresena E Freseno D ⁶Bachruib D ⁷do E ⁸ad D
⁹ēicin E ecin R egin D ¹⁰daig- ER -tuig- D ¹¹caithir D: ann RD
¹²Bregon R Breguin D ¹³mBratha R ¹⁴ndchian E -ntia RD
¹⁵h- ERD -nib D ¹⁶tor ER

(a) In upper margin of V, much faded: Hi aill aro i. hi "inis" aill "usul" 7 aro "imrūm"; i. ni anfam diar n-imram eo roisem Erinn.

(b) In V the *u* of *Belguint* is closed at the top by a prolongation of the horizontal stroke of the *g*; it might be meant for *c*; and the *i* is expuncted.

(c) Here R begins.

¹⁷atchess ¹⁸Hēriu, hi ¹⁹fescor ²⁰gaimridh. ²¹Atascomnairee
²²Hith mae ²³Breguin.

133. ¹Hitē amsin imtechta ²Gāidel ū Seithīa eo
³Hespāin, conid dīa ⁴n-imtechtaib sin asberar ⁵andso
sīss—

Doluid Mīlid as in Seithīa . . .

Third Redaction.

(β 35. 24: β¹ 35. 42: β² 12. 7: M 268 a 48: II 99 β 38:
after ¶ 138 B 10 a 1.)

134. Baath¹ mae ²Magoe meic ³lathfēd, is ⁴ñada
⁵Gāeidil ⁶fir ⁷na Seithīa. ⁸Ocus ro bo ⁹mae dō, ¹⁰in tāisech
¹⁰amra ¹¹oireagda ¹²diar bo ¹³ainm Feinius ¹⁴Farrsaich.
¹⁵Is esiden in darna tāiseach¹⁵ ¹⁶sechtnogat do chuaid do
¹⁷dēnam in Tūir ¹⁸Nemrūaid, dīa ro ¹⁹scāltea na
²⁰bērlada.²¹

135. ¹Tuirrthechta ²imthechta ³Tine ⁴Gāeidil, ū ⁵Mugoe mae ⁶lathfēt,
⁷ ū Sru mae ⁸Easrū: ⁹amail ro ¹⁰imthiged a fir ¹¹Eigept, ¹²Seithīa, ¹³
¹²Euspāin, no ¹³eo torachtad ¹⁴co ¹⁵Hērind: a ¹⁶catha imorro, ¹⁷na
¹⁸congala, isin ¹⁹Seithīa, ²⁰ingal ²¹cloindí ²²Nennail ²³Niūil: ²⁴amail ro
²⁵scindéid ²⁶im ²⁷Flaithius na Seithīa, ²⁸i, fri ²⁹rē dā bliadain ³⁰dēc ³¹nōi
cēt: ³²úair is ead sin ro bas isin ³³chocad mōr ³⁴sin. Is ³⁵hē seo ³⁶imorro
³⁷minuigad ³⁸reidedad ³⁹a ⁴⁰n-imthechta ⁴¹ontā Thor ⁴²Nemrūad ⁴³ille.

¹⁷ adches E atessa R ¹⁸Eire E Eriu R ¹⁹bfesgar E fesur R fesgar D
²⁰rid R ²¹aduseondaire E -ondaire E-con- D ²²Ith ER
²³Breogain E Bregoin R.

133. ¹Ite R Hithe D ²Goidel D ³Hesbain R ⁴nimetaib
sin E; om. sin R ⁵andso sis E indso sis R inso siss D.

134. ¹ins. imorro H ²Magoth β Magog β¹² ³lafeth me Nae H
Iafeath β Iaphet β¹² ⁴ud H uauth β uauth β¹ uauth β² ⁵Gaedhil β
Gaoiðhil β¹² ⁶om. na β¹²: Seitia β² ⁷om. ū ro bo H β¹²
"om. mac do and ins. i. β¹²: om. do β ⁸an tāisech suprs. sec. man. H
an tāiseach β i. in tāisech β¹² (each β²) ¹⁰amhra β amhradh β¹²
¹¹urrumunta H oireadhgha β oirega β¹² ¹²dar bho β dar (dair β²)
bhodh β¹² ¹³ainim β¹ ¹⁴Farrsaid H. Farrsaigh β Fairr. β¹²
¹⁵⁻¹⁶is eisidein an darna H in ard-thoiseach β om. β¹² ¹⁷lxx. β
sechtnodh β¹² ¹⁸denum an H dhenamh an β dhenamh β² ¹⁹Neamh-
ruaidh β Neamhruaidh β¹ ²⁰scaoltedh β¹² ²¹bearladha β berlaibh β¹²
²²ins. i. Neamhruaidh mac Cuis mic Caim mic Noe (with slight
differences of spelling) β¹².

135. ¹tuirrthechta H tuirrtheachta β tuirechtadh β¹² ²agas imthechta

with a tower to protect it. From that tower was Ireland seen on a winter's evening. 1th son of Breogan saw it.

133. Now those are the adventures of the Gaedil from Scythia to Spain: so that the following is said aenent those their adventures,

Poem no. XIV.

134. Baath s. Magog s. Iafeth, of him are the Gaedil and the people of Scythia. Now he had a son, the noble eminent chieftain whose name was Feinius Farsaid. It is he who was one of the seventy-two chieftains who went for the building of Nemrod's Tower, whence the languages were dispersed.

135. The narratives and adventures of the kindred of Gaedel from Magog son of Iapheth and from Sru son of Easrū: how they departed out of the land of Egypt, and Scythia, and Spain, till they reached Ireland: their battles moreover, and their conflicts, in Scythia, and the kin-murder of the progeny of Nennail and of Nel: how these broke out in the matter of the princedom of Scythia, for a space of nine hundred and twelve years: for that is the (length) which that great war had. Here now is an exposition and a systematizing of their journey, from the Tower of Nemrod onward.

β imthechtdadh β¹² ¹Tini H ⁴Gaoideal β Gaoiðhil β¹² ⁵Magoth β
Magog β¹² ⁶Iaf. H. Iafeth β Iaphet β¹² ⁷⁻⁷mie Nai mic Osru mic
Easrū β: om. β¹²: amhui β² ⁸Easrū alle H ⁹imthigsead H
imthigsead β imthigsead β¹² ¹⁰Eigipt H β Eigipte β¹² ¹¹Scythia
H β Seitia β¹² ¹²Espain H Easpaing β¹² ¹³go β ¹⁴om. co H β¹²
¹⁵Eirionn β Eirinu β² ¹⁶chatha β geatha β¹² and om. imorro β¹²
¹⁷om. a β ¹⁸geongaladh β¹² ¹⁹Seitia hic et semper β¹² ²⁰inghala
β sioghail β¹² ²¹chloinni H β chloinne β¹² ²²Nennail H Nen uail
(sic) β Neanuail β¹² ²³Nil β¹² ²⁴om. amail β¹² ²⁵rosmaseadh β
snised β¹ sinsed β² ²⁶um H β¹² ²⁷Flaithius H Flaithios β
flaithes β¹² ²⁸γ M ²⁹rae da bhliadhui β² dha bhliaghain deg β
³⁰om. dec: following ¹. ix. e in rasura H deg β¹ ³¹oir is edh sin rob
asín cogadh moir β¹² ³²chogad H chogadh mhoir β cogadh mhoir β¹
³³om. sin II β¹² ³⁴e H β ³⁵om. imorro β¹² ³⁶mineaghudh β
³⁷⁻³⁸om. H ū β¹² ³⁹regheadhugh β, ū reidhiughadh β¹² ⁴⁰each. H: the last
syllable -adh dittographed β animthechtdadh β¹² ⁴¹otha H, ū β¹²
⁴²Nemru- H Nemhruaidh β Nemhroth β¹² ⁴³alle H β aille β¹².

M β^{012}

136. ¹Fenius Farrsaig
²imorro mae ³Baaith meic
⁴Magoie meic ⁵Iathfēith meic
⁶Nōi:

is(a) hē ⁷imorro in ⁸Feinius ⁹Farrsaid sin in ¹⁰sesed fear dēc ¹¹fa ¹²so-
 theacoscu ¹³bāi con Tur Nemruaid.¹⁴

Riphaith Scuit otaid ¹⁵Scuit. Oeus isse Riphath Sot (sic) tueustair Scoitic
 ón Tūr. Arob é an t-oichtmad prim-thaisech ra bai a cumdach an Tuir
 Nemruaid.

Faileace ¹⁶mac Ebir meic Saili meic Airifaxat meic Sheim meic
 Nae, † no Faileace mac Ragña meic Airifaxat ||, a quo India: ¹⁷
 oeus(b) Eber mac(c) Saili meic Airifaxat a quo na Hebraldi: oeus
 Grecus mac Goimeir meic Iafet meic Nae, a quo an Greg Secith-
 eagda: oeus Laidin mac Puin meic Eudailis i. Alainius mac Ibeith
 meic Magōc meic Iafet meic Nae a quo(d) Eadāil. Riphath Scot i.
 Feinius Farrsaid mac Baaith meic Magōc meic Iafeth meic Nae,
 a quo Scuit: oeus(e) Cai Cainbrethach mac Ebir meic Saili meic
 Airifaxat: oeus Gáedel mac Eithcoir meic Bai meic Tai meic
 Barachain meic Magōc meic Iafeth meic Nae: oens Neamruad meic
 Cuiss meic Caim meic Nae. Is amlaid tra bái Nemroth, i. coraid
 calma cumachtagh, γ fer diumsach doilg dur-craideach, γ seleairi
 suaithníg so-anach an iathaib Aissia airtheraigi: coma focal slechta
 seinberla lá cách uili co eoitchend, Calmacht γ sealgaireacht an fir
 sin in agaid an Chóimded. Is les in fer sin dono ra cumdaiged ar
 tus riam an Babiloin, ar lár Muigi Senair, γ Sruth nEofrait tri na
 lár. Cur cumtaigid hí iartain la Nin mae Péil, an tan dogab rigi
 an domain γ na nAssarda. Is inand doni Babilon γ confucio, iar
 n-eidircert, γ curmase, iarsani ra cumaisted γ ra buaidred is an inad
 sin denta γ inandus in n-áen-berla, comdar berlada ilardha exsamlia
 o sin amach tria bithu.

Is follus de sin nach raibi Feinius hi cumdach an Tuir, mar adberad
 na sencháidi, cen choimsinead comaimseraid. Is airi seo on, air issé Feinius
 Farrsaid an seisead fer deg bá so-theguseu † γ bá so-gradaigi || do síl
 Riphaith Scuit, tuc Scoitic ón Tur.

H

Fenius Farrsaid, mac Baaith
 meic Magōc meic Iafeth meic
 Nae:

no Feinius Farrsaid mac Eogain
 meic Gluinfind meic Laimfind meic
 Etheoir meic Tháe meic Baidb meic
 Seim meic Mair meic Aurtacht meic
 Abuith meic Ara meic Iara meic
 Shru meic Esru meic Baaith meic

Riphaith Scuit otaid ¹⁵Scuit. Oeus isse Riphath Sot (sic) tueustair Scoitic
 ón Tūr. Arob é an t-oichtmad prim-thaisech ra bai a cumdach an Tuir
 Nemruaid.

136. ¹Feinnius β Feinios β^1 Foinios Farsaig β^2 Fairrsaigh β ³om. β^{12}
⁴Baath β^4 ⁵Magoith β Magog β^{11} ⁶Iafeth β Iapheth β^{12} (-et β^3)
⁷Nai β : ⁸om. meic Nōi β^{13} ⁹om. β^{12} ¹⁰Feineas β^{12} ins. -sa β^{14}
¹¹om. Farrsaid sin β^{12} ¹²sesecimh β^{11} ¹³neoch ba β noch ba β^{12}
¹⁴soitheethasca β soitheethasa β^{12} ¹⁵⁻¹⁶om. β^{12} ¹⁷Scuit sprs. c H

136. Feinius Farrsaid more-
 over, s. Baath s. Magog s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe:
 Iafeth s. Noe:

that Feinius Farrsaid was one of
 the sixteen men best in learning who
 were at the Tower of Nemrod.

or Feinius Farsaid s. Eogan s.
 Gluinfind s. Laimfind s. Etheoir s.
 Thoe s. Bodh s. Sem s. Mar s.
 Airthacht s. Aboth s. Ara s. Iarra
 s. Sru s. Esru s. Baath s. Rifaith
 Scot from whom are the Scots.

Now it is Rifaith Scot who brought the Scotic language from the Tower.
 For he was one of the eight chief leaders who were at the building of
 the Tower of Nemrod.

[These were] Faleg s. Eber s. Saile s. Arfaxad s. Sem s. Noe,
 [or Faleg s. Ragna s. Arfaxad], a quo India: and Eber s. Saile s.
 Arfaxad, a quo the Hebrews: and Grecus s. Gomer s. Iafeth s.
 Noe, a quo Seythian Greece: and Latinus s. Faunus s. Italus, that is
 Alainius, s. Iabth s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe, a quo Italy. Riphath
 Scot, that is Feinius Farrsaid, s. Baath s. Magog s. Iafeth s. Noe,
 a quo the Scots: and Cai Cainbrethach s. Eber s. Suile s. Arfaxad:
 and Gaedel s. Etheoir s. Bai s. Tai s. Barachan s. Magog s. Iafeth
 s. Noe: and Nemrod s. Gus s. Hain s. Noe. Thus was Nemrod, a
 valorous powerful champion, a haughty oppressive hard-hearted man,
 a well-known hunter of high renown in the eastern lands of Asia:
 so that everyone had a proverb extracted from the Old Language,
 which was universally known—The valour and hunting-prowess of
 that man is against the Lord. By that man was Babylon founded
 at the very first, in the middle of the plain of Senar, with the river
 Euphrates flowing through its middle. It was afterwards fortified
 by Ninus son of Belus, when he took the kingship of the world
 and of the Assyrians. “Babylon” is the same as *confusio*, by
 interpretation, and “mixing”; for in that place were mixed and
 troubled the construction and identity of the single language, so
 that there were many and various languages from that onwards for
 ever.

From that it is clear that Feinius was not at the building of the
 Tower, as historians say who do not harmonize the synchronisms. But
 this is how it was, that it is Feinius Farsaid who was one of the sixteen
 men most learned [and of highest degree] of the seed of Riphath Scot,
 who brought the Scotic language from the Tower.

¹⁵spr. : i. diuicio i. fogail iarsani ro fodlaid in talam a mberlaib exama-
 ina aimsir diarrobai ac on Tur Nemruad.

(a) Punctuated in M so as to begin a new paragraph at this word.

(b) γ yc H.

(c) mac partly erased H.

(d) This word apparently in a different ink.

(e) γ yc H.

137. Da mac ¹badar ²oc ³Feinius, i. ⁴Nenual ⁵† no ⁶Neanneal ⁷in dala mae, ⁸forfacaib ⁹‡ ¹⁰ēisidi ¹¹i ¹²flaithius ¹³na Sechthia ¹⁴dia ¹⁵ēsi ¹⁶‡ ¹⁷fēn ¹⁸||: ¹⁹Nēl ²⁰in mae ²¹aile ²²‡ do Fheinius, ²³oe in Tur ²⁴rucad hē. Ocus ²⁵fa ²⁶sai ²⁷side is na hilbērlaib.

M β^{012}

²²conad [‡] ar a ²³chend sin ²⁴tāncus ²⁵ō Forann ²⁶‡
Fhostoiges ²⁷‡ ²⁸ō flaith ²⁹Éigepht ³⁰do foglaim
na mberlad ūad.²⁴

H

Is ē a[n] Nēl sūn mae
Feniusa *Farrsaid* asrubart
tamar, ro forehongart Forand
Cingeris rí Eigepti ar imad a
Tesa, γ a eoluis, γ a foglama; γ
dobeir Forand ferand dō, γ do
breth a ingen, i. Scota a hainm,
 \pm Ocus adberaid araile comad
airi adbertha Scota fria,^(a) ar
ba Scott ainm a fir, γ is^(a)
Scuit ainm na tuaithi dia raibi
an fer, *unde dicitur* Scotus γ
Scota \pm iad a ndis ³¹||. Ceth-
racha bliadan o scailead ²⁶in
Tuir eo tanig Feinius *Farrsaid*
atuaid, asin Sechthia, cona seoil,
do iaraid na mberla; ar do
runmenadar fosgebtas and,
ar bith is as ra sealit. Da
bliadain iar tiachtain do
Fheinius atuaid corice Nin \pm
mae Peil ||.

137. ¹bhadar β om. β^{12} mhae β^2 ³ag H β^{21} aig β^2 ³Feinius β
Feines β^{12} ⁴Noineall β^{012} ⁵⁻⁶om. β^{012} ⁷Nenneal with a sbs. in
faint ink M: Naennel (the first e obscured by a blob of colour penetrating
through from the other side of the page) H ⁸an dala mae II β om. β^{12}
⁹forfacaib H ro flagaibh β ro fagaibh (Γ β^1) β^{12} ¹⁰ēsidhe β^{012} ¹¹a II β^{012}
¹²flaithius H bhflaithius β bhflaithes (β β^1) β^{12} ¹³om. mē H ¹⁴dia
ēisi fein II dia eissi fein β dia eis β^{12} ¹⁵Nēl II Nēl β ¹⁶an II β^{12}
¹⁷ati II oile β^{01} eile β^2 ¹⁸om. Feniua II β^{012} : dō II β^{01} , dhō β^2
¹⁹ocean II: ó cinter a bheith na ūaoi (β β^2) is na hilbherlaibh (om.

137. Feinius had two sons, Nenual [or Neannel], one of the two, whom he left in the princedom of Seythia after him[self]: Nel, the other son [of Feinius], at the Tower was he born. Now he was a master in the multiplicity of languages.

So that [to summon him] one came from Pharaos [Fhostoiges from the prince of Egypt], in order to learn the languages from him.

This is that Nel, son of Feinius Farsaid whom we have mentioned, whom Pharaos Cineris king of Egypt invited for the greatness of his skill, his knowledge, and his learning: and Pharaos granted him an estate, and his daughter, whose name was Scota was bestowed. [Some say that the reason why she was called Scota was, that Scot was her husband's name, and "Scots" the name of the people from whom he came; *unde dicitur* ['of the two'], Scotus, and Scota.] Forty years from the dispersal of the Tower till Feinius Farsaid came from the north, out of Seythia, with his school, to seek for the languages; for they thought they would find them there, inasmuch as it was thence they were dispersed. Two years after the coming of Feinius from the North until Ninus [son of Belus].

hil- β^2 β^{12} ¹⁹rugad eisidhi II ²⁰ha H ²¹sein H ²²gomadli β^2
²³chenn son β^{012} ²⁴⁻²⁴thangus o Forand o righflaith na Heigipte . . .
mberla uaidh β do m̄hian riogh flaith (Γ β^1) na Heigipte na hilbherlaibh
d'foghlúim (-aim β^1) uaidh β^{12} ²⁵om. β ²⁶in Tuir sprs. c H

(a) The f in fria and the i in is yc H.

²⁷Tānic imorro Fēnius ²⁸isin nAisia dochum na Sceithīa ²⁹doridisi, óir is ³⁰aisdi ³¹doluid do dēnam ³²in Tuir † Nemrūaid || ³³(i. Neamrūad mae Cuis meic Caim meic Nāe) ³³|| ³⁴conerbait ³⁵i ³⁶flaithis na Sceithīa ³⁷i cind dā ³⁸fiehit bliadan † iar taehtain dō òn Tur, || oens dorad ³⁹tāsicheacht dia mae, ⁴⁰do Nenual.

138. ¹I cind dā fiehit bliadan ² i dā dēce trā ³ar ndēnam in Tuir, ro ⁴gob¹ ⁵Nin mac ⁶Pel rīgi ⁷in ⁸domain: ⁹Úair nīr triall ¹⁰neach ¹¹aili smachtugad na ¹²tūath, na na ¹²n-il-chenēt ¹³da tabairt |^(a) ¹⁴fō ¹⁵aen smacht, ¹⁶i. fō chīs ¹⁷fō ¹⁸chānaigh, acht ¹⁹ēsium na ¹⁹āenur. ²⁰Tāsig imorro ²¹badar and ²²roime, i. ²³in ²⁴fear ²⁵ba ²⁶hūaisle ²⁷ba mō rāth isin tūath, is ē ²⁸fa ²⁹cenn ²⁹comairle do ³⁰chāch; no choisgeadh gach ³¹n-ēcōir ³²i ³³no gresadh ³⁴gach ³⁵eōir, ³⁶no triallagh indsaihī ceinēl; ³⁶ i smachtugud ar ³⁷chenēlaib ³⁸ele.

139. Ceatra bliadna dég ¹ tri fiehit ² ocht eet o thús flaithusa Nīn co deired flaithusa Tútaneis, ri an domain. Is ria lind-sidi ro tóglad Træ din togail deidenaig. Secht mliadna iarsan togail co tug Aenias mac Anieis Launia ingen Laidin meic Puin: conad tri bliadna cethrachad ar nōi cetaib o scailead an Tuir co tug Aenias ingen Laidin ³Ladin doroinne a cuir fris. Is follus assin conach cert-thiagait lucht ind Auraicept comad hē Laidin an t-eochtmad prim-thuiseach an Tuir † Nemruaid ||, ⁴ a fol anuass eturu.

²⁷ tanig H tainie β^2 : om. imorro H β^{12} : Feines β^2 ²⁸assan β asan β^{12} : nAisia docum H Aisia β Asia β^{12} ²⁹dorighisi β -ghese β^1 dorighise β is óir innto doluidh β^2 ³⁰asti H β innto β^{12} ³¹dochuaid H doluijh β ³²an H β^2 ³³⁻³⁴om. H β^{12} ³⁵conerbait β gonderbhait β^{12} . The o in this word as written in H looks at first sight like a ³⁶a II β^{12} ³⁷flaith H flaithios β flaithes β^2 : om. na β^{12} ³⁸ó chionn da fithehid bliadhuin β^1 ins. iartain: a cind H ³⁹fithehid bliaghain β ⁴⁰taisgecht H: taisgecht da mae i. do Neanuall β taoiseacht da mhab Neanuall β^{12} ⁴¹ins. i. β : Neanual H.

138. ¹⁻¹da bliudain lxx, o scáileadh an tuir dogab H Ageionn dā fítheit bliadhuin ² da deich tra iar ndenamh an Tuir roghadh β^2 ³iar nd. an β^{12} ⁴ghabh β^{12} ⁵Nion β^{12} ⁶Pcil H β^{12} ⁷un H β^{12} ⁷domuin H β domhuin β^2 ⁸ar H oir β^{12} ⁹nech H ¹⁰eile β^{12}

But Feinius came again into [sic, read “out of”] Asia to Scythia, for thence he had come for the building of the Tower [of Nemrod; Nemrod s. Cus s. Ham s. Noe]. So that he died in the principedom of Seythia, at the end of forty years [after he had come from the Tower], and passed on the chieftainship to his son, Nenual.

138. Now at the end of two score and twelve years after the building of the Tower, Ninus son of Belus took the kingship of the world: for no other attempted to exercise authority over the peoples, or to bring the multitude of nations under one authority, that is under tax and tribute, but he alone. Aforetime there had been chieftains; he who was noblest and most in favour in the community, he it was who was chief counsellor for every man, who should avert all injustice and further all justice which should be attempted against a nation; and authority over other nations.^(b)

139. Eight hundred three score and fourteen years from the beginning of the principedom of Ninus to the end of the principedom of Tautanes, King of the World. Toward his time Troy was captured for the last time. There were seven years after that capture till Aeneas son of Anchises took Lavinia daughter of Latinus son of Faunus: so that there are nine hundred forty and three years from the dispersal of the Tower till Aeneas took the daughter of Latinus, and Latinus made his treaties with him. It is clear therefrom, that the authors of the *Auraicept* do not reach a correct conclusion when they say that Latinus was one of the eight chief leaders of the Tower [of Nemrod], considering the length of time that passed down between them.

¹¹tūath β^{12} ¹²neilecineil β^2 ¹³do thabairt H ¹⁴from this point text printed as in B: fa M fō H ¹⁵oen M én H ¹⁶7 M ¹⁷chain MH ¹⁸sesem M seisim II ¹⁹oenur M ²⁰tāsicheacht M ²¹ins. ro M ²²remi sin M ²³an H ²⁴fer MH ²⁵fa MH (bis, second time fā H) ²⁶fuaisliu M huaisle H ²⁷bā H ²⁸cend MH ²⁹-li MH ³⁰chach no (na H) chosnadh cach MII ³¹neogair (the o expuncted) B negoir M cōir H ³²om. ³³om. ³⁴no greasad M na greised H ³⁵each MH ³⁶negoir H ³⁷om. ³⁸⁻³⁹ins. ⁴⁰ad init. B: do triall indsaihī cheneoil M, da triallad indsaiigid 16 chenelaib fén H ⁴¹ceinelaibh B chenelaib M cenenlaib H ⁴²aile MH.

139. This ¶ in H only.

(a) Here B resumes.

(b) This passage, here corrupt, should be corrected as in R² ¶ 105.

140. ¹Imthusa ²in mac ³eile do ⁴Feinius, i. Nél⁵ : do ⁶aitreib ⁷teas ⁸in Eígypt, ⁹tuig Seota ingen ¹⁰Foraind ¹¹Cingeiris do mnaí. Oeus ¹²is andsin¹³ rugastair ¹³Seota sin Gāedel Glas, ó ¹⁴tāid ¹⁵Gāedhil, do Nél mac ¹⁶Fheiniassa ¹⁷Farrsaig. Conadh ón Seota sin ¹⁸adearar Seuit re ¹⁹Gāedealaibh † ¹⁹Féine do ragha fria ó Feinius, ²⁰Gāedil ²²ó ²³Gāedhel Glas ||, ²⁴amad asbeart in t-cōlach²⁴—

Fēne ó Fheinius asbertar

141. No eomad Seota ainm na tuaithi as a tanadar chum in Tuir Nemruaid ille, ota in Sceithia Clochtaig anair. Is he fath fa ndeachaid Fenius Farrsaig re filigecht, con torseach leach n-oen da roibi do thaiseachaib aici, in tuath dia roibi, i. Scotizianos do chuaid a senchus a ndibad ne na farrsaigib Greeda. Corot do fagbail senchuis na Seot dia roibi dochuid do floglaim na filigechta: conad de ainmnigthear Fenius Farrsaid, i.e. “fia na n-saranda aici” a Hebra, ¹ a Greg, ² a Laidin, ³ is na huili berla oilchena; oir fas aiseom intib doigres.

BM

142. Is ¹e Gāedel do ²chum in ³Gāedelg as na ⁴dā bērla ⁵sechtmogat: ⁶is iad so ⁷a n-anmanda—

H

Ar scailead do chách ón Tur, ¹ ar na mesc-buaidred do Dia tre na n-aindligead, ² ar scailead na mberlad sechnó[n] an domain, da an Fenius ag an Tor, ³ da aitreb and: ⁴ do fáid fer uad each aird don domun, do teglomad na mberlad dia tabairt eo haen inad. Oeus ar timsachad na scoili ⁵ ar teglomad na mberla, do teibustair Fenius Farsaid berla na nGāedel as na dib berlaib

140. ¹Imthusa B imthussa H ²an H ³aile M aili H ⁴Fheinius H Fenius M ⁵ins. mac Feiniusa M ⁶aitreb MH ⁷om. M theass H ⁸an MH: Eígypt M ⁹tac M ¹⁰Fhoruind H ¹¹om. MH ¹²⁻¹³om. and ins. do M: rucustair M ¹³ins. in M an H (bis): Gāedel MH ¹⁴tait M ¹⁵Gāedil MH ¹⁶Feiniusa MH ¹⁷aid, conad M

140. As for Nel, the other son of Feinius, he lived southward in Egypt, and took Seota daughter of Pharaon Cineris to wife: and there that Seota bore Gaedel Glas, from whom are the Gaedil, to Nel son of Feinius Farsaid. So from that Seota the Gaedil are called Scots, [and the name *Feni* is given to them from Feinius, and *Gaedil* from Gaidel Glas], as the learned said

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141. Or perhaps “Seota” is the name of the community from which they came over to the Tower of Nemrod, from Scythia Petraea, from the east. This is the reason why Feinius Farsaid acquired bardism, for that every one who was of the chieftains with him was distressed that the community of which they were, the Scotiziani—its history had gone to loss in the hands of the elders of the Greeks. So that it was to find the history of the Scots, from which he was sprung, that he came to learn bardism; and thence is he named Fenius Farsaid, i.e., “one who has knowledge of ancient things,” in Hebrew, in Greek, in Latin, and in all the languages in general; for he continually made progress in them.

142. It is Gaedel who formed the Gaedelic [language] out of the seventy-two languages. These are their names—

After the dispersal of everyone from the Tower, and after they were mixed and confused by God by reason of their lawlessness, and after the dispersal of the languages throughout the world, Fenius remained at the Tower, and he dwelt there: and he sent forth a man into every quarter of the world, to collect the languages and to bring them to one place. And after he

¹⁸ins. ingen Foraind Istoges M: adberar MH ¹⁹Gāedealaib M Gaedelaib II ²⁰Fene MH: dorad riu MH: Fenius M ²¹Gāedil MH ²²ins. darad riu H ²³Gāedel M Gaedel H ²⁴⁻²⁴ut dicitur H.

141. This ¶ in M only. ¹cach sprs. yc M. ^{142.} ¹he M ²cum B ³nGāedelg M ⁴spr. sec. man. M ⁵sechtmogad M ⁶ins. ¶ M ⁷anmanda na mberla sin M ⁸⁻⁸conad

sechtogat, a eind dece
mbladian iar seailead an Tuir.
Ocus dorad dia mae, do Niul,
⁊ dorad Niul da mae, do Gaedel
Glas ⁊ dá sil eo brath: ⁊ is
nad ainnmigter. Ite annso na
berlada —

Beithin, Seeithin, Seill, Seairthin, etc.

⁸Is dia chuimneagudh sin adubairt in fili na brīathra so,⁸
Bērla in domain, dēchaid lib . . .

⁹Cetri randa ¹⁰don ¹¹forsan ¹²nGaedheilg acón lucht eólaíais, ⁊ ceitri
hanmandá forraibh;¹³ ¹⁴Seanchus Mör ⁊ Breutha ¹⁵Neimidh, ¹⁶Ái ¹⁷Carmania
⁊ ¹⁸Ái ¹⁹Canou ²⁰in ²¹ceathramad. Ocus canóin aíim na ²²randa sin, ar mēd
a fia ⁊ a ²³roscadh. Tri ²⁴cōicad ²⁵a ogum ⁊ na ²⁶rēimenna, i. ²⁷rēim ²⁸neana
⁊ na ²⁹aduili ³⁰feadha, ⁊ ³¹inas dir ³²dōibh. ³³In dara rand dono, i.
³⁴Gramadach a hainm, ar ³⁵imad a ³⁶so-fis, ³⁷air is i is [s]tuir don labra
cirt: na ³⁸feasa dono ⁊ na ³⁹foirfessa ⁊ na togla, ⁊ ⁴⁰in ⁴¹trichad scéil, ⁊
⁴²sesca fo-scéil ⁊ ⁴³as dir ⁴⁴dōibh ⁴⁵as indaib. ⁴⁶In treas ⁴⁷rand ⁴⁸Stair a
⁴⁹hainm-sidhe, ⁵⁰air is ⁵¹indti ⁵²luigtear scéla ⁊ ⁵³ceingni. ⁵⁴Breatha Cai
imorro cona ⁵⁵n-imtheagur ⁵⁶in ⁵⁷ceathramad, ⁵⁸⁊ ⁵⁹Rimh a hainm, ⁶⁰amail
asbert in fili

Geithri randa rāiter dē . . .

do chuimneadug na n-anmand sin do chan in t-eolach in duan-sa, ⁊ do
reidiungud a n-airmi M; ⁊ is da rediungud sin ⁊ da cuimniugad adubrand
andso H ⁶¹ceithri MH ⁶²dono MH ⁶³acon (ag an H) lucht
eolais forsin (-an H) nGaeidelg (nGaeid- H) seo rotheb Gaeidel (*om. these
words H*) ⁊ ceithri (-tri H) hanmandá (-unda H) foraib MH ⁶⁴Ghaedh-
eilg B ⁶⁵seanchos M ⁶⁶Nemead M Nemid H ⁶⁷aei M
⁶⁸Chearmna M Chermla H ⁶⁹Aei M ⁷⁰Chana M Chana II: *a small
dot over the C in B, hardly large enough for a lenition mark* ⁷¹an H.
⁷²ceathrumad M eethramad H ⁷³renna and *om.* sin M ⁷⁴roscend MH
⁷⁵chaeacad M ⁷⁶om. a M: ogam MH ⁷⁷remenda M reimenda H
⁷⁸rem M ⁷⁹nena MH ⁸⁰duile M ⁸¹feada M feda H ⁸²anosdir B
anussdir H ⁸³dōib MH ⁸⁴in rann aile M an rand tanaisi H
⁸⁵-midach M -mutach (a) H ⁸⁶imud H ⁸⁷Fiss H ⁸⁸uair is i

had assembled the school and collected the languages, Feinius Farsaid cut the language of the Gaedil out of the seventy-two languages, at the end of ten years after the dispersal of the Tower. And he imparted it to his son Nel: and Nel imparted it to his son Gaedel Glas and to his seed for ever: and from him (Gaedel) is it named. These are the languages.

(See below, p. 150.)

To memorize those the poet said these words—

Poem no. XI.

Now the learned count four divisions in the Gaelic language, with four names: The Great Story, the Judgements of Nemed, The Science of Corma, and The Science of Cano, the fourth. “Canons” is the name of that division, for the greatness of its knowledge and its precedents. Three fifty are its secret scripts and the courses, the course of *nin*, the leaves of a forest, and whatever is related to them. The second division, further, Grammar is its name, for the greatness of its excellent knowledge, for this it is which is the rudder for correct speech: the Sciences moreover, and the additional sciences, and the captures, and the thirty stories, and the sixty subordinate stories, and whatever is related to them, are therein. The third division, History is its name, for therein are spoken stories and matters of dispute. The Judgements of Cai, with which the fourth is included, Prosody is its name, as the poet says—

Poem no. XV.

is tur eolais in labartha cirt M: ar issi scdimir eolais an labartha H
⁶⁹fessa H ⁷⁰foireasa M foirfesa H ⁷¹an H ⁷²trichaid MH
⁷³ins. in MH ⁷⁴ins. in M an H ⁷⁵dōib MH ⁷⁶om. as indaib MH
⁷⁷in tres M isin tres H ⁷⁸rann M ⁷⁹imorro for ⁊ M ⁸⁰sdair MH
⁸¹side M -sidi H ⁸²uair M ⁸³inti MH ⁸⁴luaiter MH ⁸⁵coimgnida M
coimgneda II ⁸⁶bretha M breath H ⁸⁷him- MH -theacur M himthegar II
⁸⁸au H ⁸⁹ceathrumad M eethramad H ⁹⁰ins. rann M rand II
⁹¹rim MH ⁹²amail asbert in fellsom is na rundaib-sea M ut dicitur II

(a) Might be *mudach*, but looks more like *mut*. In this ms., owing to the way in which the letters are run together, a *v* is often partly covered by the following letter so as to be almost indistinguishable from *c*. There is no doubt of the *v* in the corresponding word in the accompanying verse 1; see poem XV, line 609.

BM

⁶¹Ceitri hanmanna ⁶²dono for in
⁶³nGaeidhlig ⁶⁴fo ⁶⁵comheannas a
rand, ⁶⁶no comad ainnm cuma prim-
bērla do na ⁶⁷trī hērladhaibh ||

II

Ceitri randu don ⁷ ceitri hanmanna
forsan nGaeidhlig ugan lucht coluis
fo chomhnuimír ⁶⁸na rand do mid-
sim (a) . . .

⁶⁹i. Ebra ⁷⁰Grēg ⁷¹Laidean, ⁷²a hainm diles o ⁷³Gaeidhleal, i.e. ⁷⁴Gaeidh-
eal. ⁷⁵Tigeolath a hainm ⁷⁶Ebra, Moloth a hainm Grēgda. ⁷⁷Legholus
a hainm ⁷⁸Laidne; ⁷⁹Tinolteach a hainm la ⁸⁰Gaeidhleal ⁸¹rodostoba, anuill
asbert in file

In bērla tebidi tria . . .

Oeus ger ⁸²bod il nu tengtha sin on Tur ⁸³Nemrūndh, ni ⁸⁴roibh acht ⁸⁵áen
bērla ⁸⁶ag foghnum do chach no cor ⁸⁷cumdaigheagh. Gortigeurnn ainnm in
bērla sin, ⁷ is ⁸⁸ris adearar in bērla ⁸⁹Ebraidh ⁹⁰aniu, anuill asbert.⁹¹

Goirtigernn ainnm in bērla . . .

⁸¹ *Variants from here onward from M, unless otherwise stated: ceithri*

⁶² ita for sin ⁶³nGaeidhlig ⁶⁴chomhnuimair ⁶⁵no sprs. sec. man.

⁶⁶ om. tri berladaib ⁶⁷i. Ebra ⁷⁰Grēg ⁷¹Laiten ⁷⁵the n of na ye II

⁷⁹Gaeidel ⁷⁴Gaeidhlig ⁷⁵Tigcolath ⁷⁶Ebra ⁷⁷Legulus ⁷⁸Laitne

The following version of the foregoing paragraph is given in Min after § 107, as noted above. Variants from μR: the section is missing in μV.

Ceithri ranna dana ⁷aeon lucht colais forsin ⁸nGaeidhlig-si ro ⁹teib Gaeidil,
¹⁰ ceithri ¹¹hanmanna foraib; ¹²Seneus Mōr ¹³Bretha ¹⁴Nemid, Ai ¹⁵Chernna ¹⁶
Nachan in ¹⁷feet rann, ¹⁸Canōin ¹⁹a hainm na rinde sin, ar imat a his ²⁰ a
roscadh.²¹ Tri ²²echoecat ogam ²³na remenna ²⁴na ²⁵duile fedá ²⁶anás dir
doib. In rann ²⁷tanaste, ²⁸Gramatach a ²⁹hainm, ar imat a ³⁰so-fis, ar ³¹as
i as [s]tūir colais³² in labartha ³³ceirt. Na ³⁴hessa duna ³⁵na forfessa³⁶ ³⁷na
toga, ³⁸in trichat scel ³⁹in ⁴⁰sesca roger ⁴¹anás dir⁴² doib is i in ⁴³tress
rann, ⁴⁴stair a ⁴⁵hainm: ar is ⁴⁶inti luaiter scela ⁴⁷comgneda. Bretha
⁴⁸Cai imorro cona ⁴⁹n-imteor in ⁵⁰ceetrannadh rand, ⁵¹rim a hainm: *de
quibus dicitur hoc carmen*

Ceithri ranna ráiter dē . . .

⁵⁰Ceithri hanmanna dono for ⁵¹in nGaeidhlig fo comhnuimír ⁵²a rainne, no

Moreover the Gaedelic language has
four names [corresponding to its
division; or that it should have a
name, in the way that the three
languages are called "chief lan-
guage"]—

Men of learning consider that
Gaedelic has four divisions and
four names, being a like number
with the divisions which we have
enumerated . . .

to wit, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, as well as its own name Gaedelic, from
Gaedel. Tigcolath is its Hebrew name, Moloth its Greek name, Legodus its
Latin name; Tinolteach was the name which Gaedel had for it, he who
cut it out, as the poet said—

Poem no. XVI.

Now though many were those tongues from the Tower of Nemirod, there
was not more than one language serving everyone until it was built.
Goirthigern was the name of that language, and it is called the Hebrew
language today, as one said—

Poem no. XVII.

⁷⁵ Tinolteach ⁷⁶Gaeidel ⁷⁷i. Gaeidhlig rotathoba ⁷⁸bottle
⁷⁹ad ⁸⁰roibi ⁸¹oen ⁸²ie fognum ⁸³cumaiseed na berla i.
Goirthigern ⁸⁴fris adearar ⁸⁵Ebraide ⁸⁶aniug ⁸⁷tas. in teolach.

(a) Here II breaks off.

comad ainnm ⁸⁸each primberla dona ⁸⁹tri primberlaib i. Ebra ⁹⁰Grēg ⁹¹
Laidin, ⁹²a hainm diles o Gaidil. ⁹³Tigcolath a innm Ebra, Moloth ⁹⁴
hainm Greeda, ⁹⁵Legulus a hainm Laitin, ⁹⁶Tinolteach a hainm la Gaidel
⁹⁷rodostoba: *de quibus hoc carmen*⁹⁸

In berla tebidi tria . . .

¹ne lucht a heolusa ²nGoidile-se ³teip Goidil ⁴anmann
⁵Senehus ⁶Nemid ⁷Cernna ⁸nacane ⁹cetrumad ¹⁰⁻¹¹an
rann sin ¹²a (ye abe, R) ainnm ar imat a fir (sic) ¹³na roscad ¹⁴coecat
¹⁵⁻¹⁶is i sdiuir colusa ¹⁷eirt ¹⁸⁻¹⁹fesa didiu ²⁰na foirbesa ²¹na tricha
²²⁻²³xl. roger ²⁴in asdir ²⁵tres ²⁶ainm ²⁷innte luaiter ²⁸Cae
²⁹n-integar ³⁰cethramad rann ³¹om. hoc carmen ³²ceithire
anmann dana ³³an Goidile ³⁴arrainne ³⁵ceeh ³⁶trib
³⁷Grec ³⁸Tigcolath ³⁹om. a and the prefixed h ⁴⁰Legulus a Laitin
⁴¹Tinolteach a Gaidile and om. a hainm ⁴²restoba ⁴³ins. dicitur.

143. Ó ¹ro aitreibh trá ²in Nél sain mac Feiniusa in Éigipt, is ³ē ferand roghab, ar ⁴imlibh Mara Rúaid, ⁵im ⁶Capacirunt: ⁷ ⁸báí annsin ⁹no gor éodor Meie ¹⁰Israhel ó ¹¹Fhoraind ¹²ó ¹³slúagh Éigiphte. Oeus is ¹⁴ed dolodar Meic Israel ¹⁵for a n-élog sin ¹⁶cosin ¹⁷ferand a ¹⁸imba Nél ¹⁹a mac, i. ²⁰Gaedhel Glas. Ro ²¹ghabhsat trá ²²Meie Israel ²³¶ ²⁴sosudh ²⁵|| ²⁶longphurt ²⁷a Capaciroth for brú Mara Rúaidh. Is andsin de ruacht chueu Nél ²⁸Féinasa da ²⁹n-agallaim, ¶ ³⁰da fis cia ³¹aun ||, ³²is andsin dorala ³³Aarón do ¶ do ³⁴léathtaebh in ³⁵tslúagh ||, ³⁶ro indis ³⁷Arón seéla Mae ³⁸nIsrahel ³⁹dó, ⁴⁰i. fearta ⁴¹mirbaileadh Maisc, ⁴²is amail ⁴³tugud na dée ⁴⁴plagha (foillsi fiadhnacha) for lucht na ⁴⁵Héighipti ⁴⁶tré na ndáeradh som. Oeus ro ⁴⁷snáidmsead eomond ⁴⁸earadradh, ⁴⁹ro ⁵⁰fiarfaigh Nél ⁵¹do Arón in robhadar biadha ⁵²na lóingfíthe aco. Oeus ⁵³ro ráidh fós ⁵⁴a ⁵⁵fuil do ⁵⁶chruthneacht ⁵⁷do maithius annso, ar sē, ⁵⁸doberar for bhar eumus uili sin. ⁵⁹ ¶ ⁶⁰Oeus tainig in adhaig dōibh fai sin ||, ⁶¹¶ ⁶²dochuaidh ⁶³docum a tighe fén: ⁶⁴ ¶ ⁶⁵dochuaidh Arón isin ⁶⁶longphort, ⁶⁷gu hairm a mbit ⁶⁸Maisi, ⁶⁹ro indis do in ⁷⁰fáilte fuair ⁷¹og Nél, ⁷²is maith ro ⁷³gheall re Macaib Israel. Ba ⁷⁴buidheach Maisi ⁷⁵¶ ⁷⁶Arón || do Nél mama seélaibh sin.

144. ¹Imtusa Niúil imorro, ²ó rānig docum a muindteri, ³do indis dōibh longphort do bheith ag Macaibh Israel ⁴a Capaciroth ⁵ag Socath. ⁶Ro indis seéla Maisi ⁷Arón ⁸gu léir ⁹a fiadhnaissi in ¹⁰tslóigh. ¹¹Isan aideche sin ¹²dono, ro beanastair ¹³nathair neimhneach nime ¹⁴risin mac ¹⁵inbeg ro bái ag ¹⁶Niúil, i. ¹⁷Gaedhel ¹⁸Glas, ¹⁹ro bo ²⁰eomfaghus báis do: eorob tāithi fuair ²¹sum in forthormach ²²anma sin. Oeus ro ²³rāig-sead a muindtear ²⁴fria Nél in mae sin do breith ar amus

143. ¹ra aitreibh thra ²om. in and sain ³he fearand roghab
⁴imlib ⁵Chapaciron ⁶bui ⁷eo ro ⁸Hisrahel hic et ubique
⁹Fhorann ¹⁰sluag Eigept ¹¹ead ¹²forsan elod ¹³coson B eus
 (sin sprs, sec. man.) M ¹⁴ferand ¹⁵mbai ¹⁶Gaedel hic et ubique
¹⁷gobasad ¹⁸mec ¹⁹sosad ²⁰lonphurt B longport M ²¹im Chapaciron
²²Feiniusa ²³the g dotted sec. man. ²⁴dia ²⁵ro bái and and om. ¶
²⁶Arón ²⁷leataib ²⁸tslúagh ²⁹Arón ³⁰nIsrl. ³¹om. do
³²¶ ³³for i. ³⁴-leada Maisi meic Amra ³⁵tucad ³⁶plada foillseacha
 fiadhnacha ³⁷Héighipti ³⁸ins. ¶ ³⁹snadmadar comand ⁴⁰-fáid
⁴¹dé Arón irobadar ⁴²náid lointigi ⁴³⁻⁴⁴ro raid Nel fris ⁴⁵fuil ar se

143. Now when that Nel son of Feinius dwelt in Egypt, this is the estate which he received, upon the shores of the Red Sea, and around Phi-Hahiroth: and he was there till the Sons of Israel escaped from Pharaoh and from the host of Egypt. Now it fell out that the Sons of Israel, in that flight, came to the estate where Nel was, and his son, Gaedel Glas. The Sons of Israel [alighted and] took camp at Phi-Hahiroth, on the border of the Red Sea. Then Nel son of Feinius came to converse with them, [and to find out who was there]: and there Aaron met with him [aside from the host], and Aaron told him tidings of the Sons of Israel, to wit, the marvels and miracles of Moses, and how the ten plagues—a clearness of testimony—were brought upon the people of Egypt, by reason of their [the Israelites'] enslavement. And they ratified a treaty and friendship, and Nel asked Aaron if they had provision or food-stores. He said further, that what is here of wheat and of good things—said he—shall all be put at your disposal. [Thereat the night fell upon them], and *<Nel>* went to his own house; and Aaron went into the camp, to the place where Moses was, and told him the welcome which he had received at the hands of Nel, and the good which he promised to the Sons of Israel. Grateful were Moses [and Aaron] to Nel, at those tidings.

144. But as for Nel, when he came to his own folk, he told them how the Sons of Israel had a camp at Thi-Hahiroth and at Succoth. He related the tidings of Moses and Aaron in full before the company. Now in that night a venomous poisonous serpent stung the little son whom Nel had, Gaedel Glas, and death was near to him. From that he received the addition to his name. His people said to Nel that he should carry the lad to Moses. The lad was brought to Moses, and Nel came with

⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷maithes ¶ do chruthneacht ¶ do mil acaindí ⁴⁸⁻⁴⁹doberbar ar bar
 comus ¶ ar bar mbreitheannus sin uili ⁵⁰⁻⁵¹om. ⁵²⁻⁵³Nel doclum a
 shigi iarsin ⁵⁴longport ⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶¶ ⁵⁷rabadar me Hisrl. ⁵⁸¶ ⁵⁹Failli mor
⁶⁰oc ⁶¹gell ⁶²-deach Maisi.

144. ¹dala ²o rainic a m. (om. docum) ³ro ⁴i ⁵ac Socot
⁶ins. ¶ ⁷co ⁸i fiadhnaisi ⁹tsloig moir sin ¹⁰⁻¹¹is andsin
¹¹⁻¹²in nathair nemneach nemi ¹²⁻¹³mbee robui oc Niúil i. Gaedil
¹³Niúil B ¹⁴chomfocu ¹⁵-seom ¹⁶om. B ¹⁷ruidsead ¹⁸re

¹⁹Maisi. Rugadh in mae sin eo Maisi, γ dolnid Nēl ²⁰leis. Oeus ²¹rognt Maisi urnaighthi diehra ²²fri ²¹Dia, γ dorad in ²³fleisg n-uirrdráie fris in inadh ar ²³bean in ²⁴nathair risin mae, eor bo slán in mae. Oeus ro ráidh ²⁵: Is ²⁶ceat liumsa γ le Dia ²⁷nar urehoideu nathair don mae so, na dho dhuine ²⁸dia sil ²⁹gu bráth, γ ³⁰nar aitreaba nathair tria bithu ³¹sír a aitreibi bunnidh a cloinde. Oeus ³²beidit, ol se, ³³rígha γ ³⁴ruirigh, náim γ firéoin, do sil ^(a) in meie ³⁵sin, oeus bid an ³⁶inis túaiscertaigh in domain bias ³⁷a ³⁸aitreabh a chineadh. ³⁸ Conadh eadh sin ³⁹fodera gen nathair an Éirinn, γ gam irehoid do dénum ⁴⁰ do ⁴¹nathair ⁴¹na dho pést comeim ⁴²fria duine ⁴³dho sil Gaeidhil. ⁴²Oeus ro fagaibh saghlála don mae cona sil, amail asbert in file, ⁴⁴

Gaeidhel Glas, fóghnaidh a rádh . . .

145. Is andsin ro ráid Nēl; Doria Forann ¹eugaind, ol sē, γ no díerta sind ar in fáilti ²dorad-sum díbh-si,² γ i cínaidh ³gnan bhar fastogh. ⁴Tarr linde sa sligdhe aímnáraich,⁴ ar Arón, γ an ⁵agatud do gréas, madh sil ⁶duit: fogebla comroind ⁷forba γ fearoind isin tür ro thairrngir Dia ⁸da Macaib Israhel dia ⁹fogbom fén. No madh fearr leat, doberamni lihearna Foraind, eo ¹⁰mbead ar do cumas, γ ¹¹éirig indteibh for muir, γ ¹²fuiring-siu eo ¹³feassar-sa cindass sgerom-ni γ Forand: γ ¹⁴déna ¹⁵do ¹⁶chomairle as a ¹⁷haile.

Is i ¹⁸sin ¹⁹comairle is ²⁰cóir and, ol Nēl. ²¹ No ²²cuirid andsin trá tri ²³mili fear n-armach ²⁴n-incomloinn maille re Nēl ²⁵gu haimr a mbadar na longa, γ do radadh do ²⁶Niūl, combadar ar a ²⁷comas. \ddagger *< Cid >* ar na ²⁸bertais Meie Israhel ²⁹fén leo ³⁰cena na longa sin? || \ddagger Ar dáigh ³¹na fadbadh Forann ³²trealma na(**b**) ndiaidh. ||

¹⁹Moy(s)i γ rucad ²⁰les ²¹⁻²¹dogni Moy(s)i hirnaithi ndiehra ²⁰re ²²fria ria Dia, *the second word expuncted* B ²³⁻²³fleise n-uirrdríe ris in inadh in ro ²⁴athair ²⁵ins. iar sin ²⁶ceat liumsa olehena γ is cat le Dia ²⁷na ra airehoitigi in nathair ²⁸da sil B ²⁹co brach ³⁰na ro aitreba ³¹sír a tir an aitreba bunad a e[h ye M]loindi ³²beid ³³rigda ³⁴iech γ ³⁵ins. ol se *and om.* sin ³⁶indsi thuuscert ³⁷om. a ³⁸⁻³⁸aitreb a cloindi γ a chinich co brath ³⁹⁻³⁹fodeara can nathraich do beith in Éirinn γ can irehoid do denam ⁴⁰nathraich ⁴¹⁻⁴¹om. ⁴²do ⁴³do sil Gaeidil Glas ⁴⁴⁻⁴⁴om. *this sentence and appended poem.*

him. Moses made fervent prayer before God, and put the famous rod upon the place where the serpent stung the lad, so that he was cured. And he said: I command, and God commandeth, that no serpent harm this lad or any of his seed for ever: and that no serpent shall ever dwell in the homeland of his progeny. And, he said, there shall be kings and lords, saints and righteous, of the seed of that lad: and in a northern island of the world it is that the dwelling of his race shall be. This is the reason why there is no serpent in Ireland, and why no serpent or venomous reptile can do harm to any of the seed of Gaedel. And he left bequests to the lad and to his seed, as the poet said —

Poem no. XVIII.

145. Then it is that Nel said: Pharao shall come to us, said he, and shall enslave us, for the welcome that we have given you, and for the crime of failing to hinder you. Come with us en tomorrow's route, said Aaron, and stay with us continually, if so thou wilt: thou shalt obtain an equal share of heritage and of territory in the land which God hath promised to the Sons of Israel for their own service. Or if thou dost prefer, we shall put the pinnaces of Pharao at thy disposal: embark in them upon the sea, and stand by till thou knowest by what means we shall separate from Pharao: and thereafter do thy good pleasure.

That is the advice which is right, said Nel. Then they sent with Nel three thousand men armed and fit for combat, to the place where the ships were, and they were given to Nel, so that they were at his disposal. [(Why) did not the Sons of Israel themselves take the ships? in order that Pharao should not find means of pursuing them].

^{145.} ¹chueaind ²⁻²-som daibsi, a maein Hisrl- ³can for busdo ⁴⁻⁴tairr lindi con tuilib muinteri(*c*) isn sligig imbaireach ⁵acaind ⁶duid γ fogeba ⁷forba γ fearaind ⁸do ⁹fadbam fein ¹⁰mbed ¹¹do erich inti for muir ¹²fuig-siu B ¹³feasar-sa cindus sceram-ni ¹⁴denaid ¹⁵om. do ¹⁶comairli ¹⁷haithli sin ¹⁸om. sin ¹⁹comairli ²⁰a very small dot over the e, of no importance B ²¹ins. dol ar cend long Forand ²²ro cuiread tra andsin ²³apparently eniridh B ²⁴mile fer ²⁵om. ²⁶eo ²⁷Nel ²⁸chomus ²⁹berdais B ³⁰fen ³¹om. cena ³²nar fagbad ³³trelma.

(a) The words *sil in meic* clumsy re-inked M.

(b) Written *nadhicidh* B, and a stroke (= n) yc B over adh.

(c) Written ⁵_m 1

146. Dochomlai † Nél || in lín bái indtibh sin, ⁊ ro 'Tuirich co 'fēiceadh gnimradha in lāi īar na 'māraech, i.e. 'dluighi Mara kūaidh in 'ndiaidh in 'lobail, ⁊ 'bādhad Foraind cona slūaghaibh 'indte, i.e. 'sē mīle coisighe ⁊ ¹⁰cōica mīli marcach. Is eadh 'sin lín luidh ¹²a ndāil báis do muindtir ¹³Foraind a Muir Rūaidh.

147. ¹Óteonnaire imorro Nél Forand cona slūaghaibh do ²bādhadh † ³im Muir Rūaidh ||, ro an 'isin ferand cētna, ñair nī bái ⁵eagla fair na 'omon. Oeus ro 'fóirbir a 'clann ⁊ a 'síl andsim in nÉigipt, gorsat mīligh mōrehalma. Marb Nél īarsin īar ¹⁰eéin māir ¹¹sin nÉigipt, ⁊ gabais ¹²Gäedhel Glas ⁊ a māthair in ¹³ferand, ⁊ ro ¹⁴geinair mae ¹⁵dosidhēin isin tīr cētna,¹⁵ i.e. ¹⁶Esru mae ¹²Gäedheil: ⁊ ro ¹⁷geiner mae ¹⁸dōsidein ¹⁹isin tīr ²⁰cētna, i.e. Srū mae Easru meic Gāeidhil.

148. Dāla slūaigh ¹Éigipte īarsin, gabhais Forand Tuir in ²flaithus tar éis ³Foraind Cineeris. Oeus ba 'Forann 'tuilleadh anma ⁴gach rīgh ⁵[rogab] Éigightht ódā Forand Cineeris gu Forand Nedtenbus; ⁷ ⁊ ba ⁸shēsidhe ⁹in eūied rīgh trīchad no⁹ in eūied rīgh ¹⁰dēg īar ¹¹Forann Cineeris ro bāidheadh ¹²im Muir Rūaidh. Oeus ¹³ba har cīis onorach ¹⁴atberthea riū-sin.

149. ¹Imtūsa Fhoraind Tuir īarsin ⁊ ²lslūaigh Éigibte, ó ro badar ³gu trēn, ro ⁴cuimhnighsead a n-anfolaideh mbunaidh do ⁵clannaibh Niūil ⁊ ⁶d'fne Gāedheal, i.e. a caradraadh re Macaibh ⁷Israhel, ⁊ longa Foraind ⁸Cineeris do breith do Niūil ⁹leis, in tan ro ¹⁰clodar Meic ¹¹Israhel. Ro mōradh ¹²cogadh leo ⁊ ¹³anfolta na ¹⁴cean īarsin, ⁊ ro hindarbadh ¹⁵† gu haimdeōnach || a ¹⁶Heigipt.

146. ¹fuigh B ²faleed ³maireach ⁴dluidi ⁵diad ⁶pobail ⁷badud ⁸inti ⁹se fchit mili ¹⁰caeca M, erased B ¹¹om. sin lín ¹²in ¹³Fhoraind.

147. ¹chond- ²bathad ³a ⁴annsa nferand chetna ⁵eacla ⁶oman ⁷oirbir ⁸cland ⁹síl annsin a nÉigupt corsad ¹⁰cen ¹¹isin Egept ¹²Gäedel (bis) ¹³fearann ¹⁴genair ¹⁵do Gaedel īarsin ¹⁶Easru ¹⁷genair ¹⁸dōsen ¹⁹is ²⁰chedna.

146. [Nel] The company that was in them set forth, and stood by to see the transactions of the following day—the division of the Red Sea in the wake of the people, and the drowning of Pharaos with his hosts therein—six *<score>* thousand footmen and fifty thousand horsemen. That is the tally that went to meet death of the people of Pharaos in the Red Sea.

147. Now when Nel saw Pharaos with his hosts drowned [in the Red Sea], he remained upon the same estate; for he had no fear nor terror. His progeny and his seed increased there in Egypt, till they were warriors of great valour. Thereafter Nel died, after a long space, in Egypt, and Gaedel Glas and his mother took the estate. A son was born to him in the same land, Esru s. Gaedel. To him was a son born in the same land, Srū s. Esru s. Gaedel.

148. As for the host of Egypt after that, Pharaos Tuir took the princedom after Pharaos Cineris. Now 'Pharaos' was an additional name for every king *<who took>* Egypt, from Pharaos Cineris to Pharaos Neetanebus: he was the thirty-fifth—or the fifteenth—King after Pharaos Cineris who was drowned in the Red Sea. It was for the sake of honour that this name was bestowed upon them.

149. As for Pharaos Tuir thereafter and the host of Egypt, when they attained strength, they called 'to mind their hereditary hostility against the progeny of Nel and the family of Gaedel—the friendship which he had shown to the Sons of Israel, and Nel's taking of the ships of Pharaos Cineris with him, when the Sons of Israel escaped. War and hostilities against them were increased thereafter upon them, and they were expelled, [against their will], out of Egypt.

148. ¹Eigept imorro ²flaithas ³Fhoraind Chingiris ⁴fa ⁵fuillead ⁶each ⁷rogob Eigept ota Fhoraind Cingiris eo ⁸clannaibh Niūil ⁹hesiden ¹⁰om. ¹¹dec ¹²Forand Cingeris ¹³i ¹⁴fa ar ¹⁵adb. riū-san.

149. ¹imtūsa ²lslūaigh Eigept ³co ⁴chuimnigsead a n-anf. ⁵clandaib ⁶do fine Gäedil ⁷Hisrl. ⁸Cingeris ⁹les ¹⁰eladar ¹¹Hisrl. asin dairi Eigeptagda ¹²coead ¹³anfoltana ¹⁴om. ¹⁵co ¹⁶Hegept.

150. Srū † mac Easrū meie ¹Gáidhil ||, ²is ē ba tāiseach do ³Gáedelaibh ⁴agan indarba † a ⁵Héigipt ⁶ra bāitheadh Forand ⁷im Muir Rūaidh an dheagaidh Mae nIsrahel ||. Sechtmoga ⁷secht cēt bliadan ò dīlind ⁸conuigi sin: ⁹cethracha ⁷ceithre cēt bliadan òn ainsnir sin ⁹nar bāidhead ¹⁰Forand ⁷ ¹⁰tāníg Sru ¹²mae Easrū a Héigipt, ¹³gus an aimsir ¹⁴thāngadar Meie Mileadh ¹⁵an Érinn, † i. Éber ⁷ ¹⁶Érimōn ||: ¹⁷dia n-ébairt—

Cethracha ⁷ceithri cēt . . .

151. Lucht ¹ceitri long huidh Srū ²a ³Héigipt, ⁷⁴ceitri lāmuhona ficheat gacha luinge,⁴ ⁷ triar ⁵anbos gacha luinge.⁵ Srū ⁷a mac i. Éber Scot, ⁷ba hiad taisig na loingsi sin.

Is i sligi dolodar, for Muir Rūaid ⁶d'Inis Tibrad ⁸Fáine, ⁹timcheall Sléibhi Rísi botūaidh co ¹⁰rāngadar in Seeithia, ⁷eon-¹¹snighthead im ¹²flaithus na ¹³Seithia i. ¹⁴clanna Niūl ⁷ ¹⁵Néanuail, dā mac ¹⁶Feiniassa Farrsaigh. ¹⁷Òn aimsir sin go haimsir Reifloir meie Neman ⁷ Mílidh meie¹⁷ Bile, mōr ¹⁸do ¹⁹cathaibh ⁷ do chonghalaibh ⁷ do ²⁰choctaibh ⁷ do fíngalaibh ro imirsead eatorru ²¹frisin rē sin, ²²gur goin ²³Mili mac Bile ²⁴Reifloir mae ²⁵Nema.

¹⁶Imtūsa Srū, ò rānic in Seeithia, ²⁷fōcētōir marb Noeneal hua ²⁸Feiniusa. ²⁹Rogabh ³⁰Naenel mae Baaith meie ³¹Naenual meie ³²Feiniusa Farrsaigh ³³flaitus na Seeithia. Marb Srū dono ³⁴fōcētōir taréis ³⁵Naenual.

150. ¹Gaeidil, Gaeidelaib ²is he fa ³ocean ⁴Heigpt
⁵o ro bailed ⁶a ⁷coruici ⁸ceath ⁹inar ¹⁰ann ¹¹a tainie
¹²om. mac Easrū ¹³cus ¹⁴i tancadar ¹⁵in Erind ¹⁶Eremon
¹⁷dia ndebairt in teolach.

151. ¹ceathra ²ins. mae, but no more ³Heigpt ⁴⁻⁵ceithri
 lanamna fichead eacha luingi ⁵⁻⁶amus foreraid eacha luingi ⁷fa hiad
 toisich ⁸dindsib ⁹Fane ¹⁰ins. ⁷timchell Síibe R. fothuaid

150. Sru [s. Esru s. Gaedel], he it is who was chieftain for the Gaedil at that expulsion [from Egypt, after Pharao was drowned in the Red Sea, in the wake of the Sons of Israel]. Seven hundred and seventy years from the Flood till then: four hundred and forty years from that time when Pharao was drowned, and when Sru s. Esru came out of Egypt, to the time when the sons of Mil came into Ireland, [to wit, Eber and Eremon]: whercanent one said—

Poem no. XII.

151. Four ships' companies strong went Sru out of Egypt. There were twenty-four wedded couples and three hirelings for every ship. Sru and his son Eber Scot, they were the leaders of that voyage.

The route which they followed was on the Red Sea to the island of Taprobane, around the Rhypaeon Mountain northward till they reached Scythia, and contested in the matter of the principedom of Scythia—that is, the progeny of Nel and Nenual, the two sons of Feinius Farsaid. From that time till the time of Refloir son of Noemius and of Mil son of Bile, many battles and combats and wars and kin-murders were transacted between them during that space, till Mil son of Bile inflicted a mortal wound upon Refloir, son of Noemius.

As for Sru, when he reached Scythia, immediately Nenual grandson of Feinius died. Nenual son of Baath son of Nenual son of Fenius Farsaid took the principedom of Scythia. Now Sru died immediately after Nenual.

¹⁰rāncadar ¹¹·srigsed ¹²flaithius ¹³Seeithia ¹⁴clanda
¹⁵Nenual ¹⁶Feiniusa Farrsaigh ¹⁷⁻¹⁸o aimsir Rafloir meie Neman
 cosin ⁷asin co Mílid mac ¹⁸ins. tra ¹⁹chathair ²⁰choethaibh
²¹foden fris in ²²cor ²³Milig ²⁴Refloir ²⁵Owing to a blot,
 looks like Neman B; Nema na slíasait M ²⁶imthusa ²⁷fochedair ro
 ro marb Noenel ²⁸Feniusa ²⁹rogob ³⁰Noennel ³¹Noennil
³²Feniusa Farrsaigh ³³flaithius ³⁴fochedoir ³⁵Noennil.

152. ¹Gabas Ēber Scot † mac Srū || ²air ēigin rīghi na Seithiā ōs cloind ³Neannail † meic Feiniasa ||, ⁴condorchair la ⁵Nainias mac Neanuail. † Ar marbadh Ēbir trā ||, ⁶bái ⁷cosnam mōr † ⁸in flaithus || itir ⁹Neinins † mac ¹⁰Nainil || γ ¹¹Beoamoin mac Ēbir ¹²Squit.

¹³Gabas Beaman rīghi a nirt ¹⁴cosnamha atōn Seithiā ¹⁵Thūnascertaig gu tracht Mara Caisp, ¹⁶gundorchair i ¹⁷ceilg eatha la ¹⁸Ninias mac ¹⁹Neannail. ²⁰Gabas ²¹Nenias in ²²flaitus īarsin, ²³condorchair la ²⁴llogamman mac ²⁵mBeamain a ndigil a athar. ²⁶Gabas Ogamain īarsin in ²⁷rīghi ²⁸conerbaitl indte, † i. isin ²⁹rīge ||. Bái cosnom imon ³⁰flaithus ³¹fri a rē, ³²ceethra mbliaidna īar sin, ³³idir ³⁴Refloir mac ³⁵Refill γ ³⁶Milidh mac ³⁷mBile. ³⁸Oeus is andsin ³⁹bái ingean gnāitheach ag Refloir diar bló ⁴⁰comaim ⁴¹Seang ingean ⁴²Refloir, γ ro ⁴³furāil Refloir air Milidh mac mBile in ⁴⁴ingen soin, γ ⁴⁵dosfuih ⁴⁶Milid mac Bile, γ bái ⁴⁷aige go grādhach, ⁴⁸go rug dias chloindi dbō, i. Aireach ⁴⁹Fabhrudh γ Donn a ⁵⁰n-anmunda. Is andsin ro ⁵¹crogad Refulair a cliamain do marbad, ⁵²air ba ⁵³heagail lais a thiachtain fris ⁵⁴fa rīghi: γ ⁵⁵rāinig a ūis sin do mac Bile, † i. a ⁵⁶chogar da cliamain ||. Oeus dochuakdh ⁵⁷ſein i cenn cogaidh īar sin, γ ro ⁵⁸comraig γ ⁵⁹Rofeallair, γ ro gonsun ⁶⁰Refallair ⁶¹gu garb γ ⁶²gu hamnas tria na ⁶³ſliasaid, γ ⁶⁴ba guin digla γ bhāis. ⁶⁵Ro theasbaigh mōr ⁶⁶ag slūaghaibh na Seithiā ⁶⁷im lot γ im guin a tigerna do mac ⁶⁸mBile, γ ro ⁶⁹hindarbudh asin Seithiā hē, γ dochuaidh ⁷⁰Milidh īarsin γ ⁷¹rug a claind leis. Ceithre barea a mor ⁷²coblach, eōic ⁷³plānomma dēg ⁷⁴gacha bairce γ amos ⁷⁵foreaidh gan mnaí. Ansad tri ⁷⁶mīsa an ⁷⁷imis Tibrad Faine: tri ⁷⁸mīsa ele dōib for ⁷⁹fairge gur rāngadar Eigept, i. a cind ⁸⁰ceethra mbliaidn ⁸¹eoicat ar tri ⁸²cēt ar mile īar ngabhāil Erenu do ⁸³Parthalōn, γ a cind ⁸⁴ceethra ar dēc ar nōi cētaibh īar mbādhadh ⁸⁵Forann Cingeris i ⁸⁶Muir Rūaid.

152. ¹ais ²ar eicin ³Sceithia ⁴Nenual m. Pheniusa ⁵eo torchair ⁶Nenius m. Nenual ⁷bui ⁸cosnam main flaithus ⁹imon flaithus ¹⁰Noenius ¹¹Nenual ¹²Boamain ¹³Scuit ¹⁴ais Boamain in rīgi ¹⁵chosnama ¹⁶taich eo ¹⁷eo torchair ¹⁸ceilg chatha ¹⁹Nemius ²⁰Nenual ²¹gobais ²²Noenius ²³flaithus ²⁴eo torchair ²⁵amain ²⁶om. m. ²⁷gabnis Ogamain ²⁸rīgi ²⁹conerbaitl inti ³⁰rīgi ³¹flaithus ³²fri re ³³cheathra ³⁴itir ³⁵Refloir ³⁶Refill ³⁷Milid ³⁸Bili ³⁹om. γ ⁴⁰ro bái ingen gnaleach ac Refloir ⁴¹chomainum ⁴²Seng ⁴³Refloir ⁴⁴furail Refloir ar Milid ⁴⁵n-ingen sin ⁴⁶dusfue ⁴⁷om. Milid

152. Ēber Scot [son of Sru] took the kingship of Seythia by force from the progeny of Nenual [son of Feinius], till he fell at the hands of Noemius son of Nenual. [Now after the slaying of Ēber], there was great contention [in the matter of the princedom], between Noemius [son of Nenual] and Boamain son of Ēber Scot.

Boamain took the kingship by force of combat from Northern Seythia to the shore of the Caspian Sea, till he fell in a battle-ambush at the hands of Noemius son of Nenual. Noemius took the princedom thereafter, till he fell at the hands of Ogamain son of Benamain in vengeance for his father. Ogamain took the kingship thereafter till he died in it—[that is, in the kingship]. There was contention in the matter of the princedom during his time, four years after that, between Refloir s. Refill and Mil s. Bile. Now Refloir had a comely daughter there, whose name was Seng d. Refloir: and Refloir offered that maiden to Mil s. Bile. Mil s. Bile took her, and she was with him in loving wise, till she bore him two children; Airech Fehrud and Donn were their names. Then it was that Refloir plotted to slay his kinsman, for he feared that he would come against him for the kingship. Tidings thereof came to the son of Bile, [that is to say, of his kinsman's plotting]. Thereafter he himself went to battle, and he and Refloir fought, and he wounded Refloir severely and painfully through his thigh—a wound of vindictiveness and of death. The hosts of Seythia felt it a great loss that their lord should be hurt and mortally wounded by the son of Bile, and he was expelled out of Scythia: so Mil went thereafter, and took his children with him. Four ships were their sea-fleet, fifteen wedded couples in each ship, and an additional unwived hireling. They remained three months in the island of Taprobane. Other three months had they on the sea till they reached Egypt, at the end of one thousand three hundred fifty and four years after Partholon took Ireland, and at the end of nine hundred and fourteen years after the drowning of Pharaor Cineris in the Red Sea.

⁴⁸ aici co gradach ⁴⁹γ ruc dis do chloind ⁵⁰Februid ⁵¹n-anmann ⁵²ehocair Refloir ⁵³ar ⁵⁴haigmeil leis ⁵⁵ima rīgi ⁵⁶ranic in fisin da mac Bile ⁵⁷choeur ⁵⁸fen a cend in choaid ⁵⁹chomraic ⁶⁰Refloir γ ro gon-son ⁶¹ins. γ B: Rafloir M ⁶²eo (bis) ⁶³ait ⁶⁴fa ⁶⁵fa ro easbaid ⁶⁶ac ⁶⁷um ⁶⁸om. m. ⁶⁹hinnarbad ⁷⁰Milid ⁷¹rue leis a cland ⁷²choblaich ⁷³amna dec ⁷⁴cacha bairci ⁷⁵sic B forcraid cen M ⁷⁶mis ⁷⁷indsi Thibrad Fane ⁷⁸mis aile ⁷⁹fairrgi eo raneadar erich Eigepti ⁸⁰cheathra ⁸¹ins. ar ⁸²chedaib ar mili ⁸³Parr. ⁸⁴iii. mbl-dec ar et ar nae (e sprs. cM) mbl. ⁸⁵Foraind Cingeris ⁸⁶a.

153. 'Torann Nechthenibus ba rígh Eilípti in innbhaig sin, amail roeann in t-eolach in rann so.'¹

Ko gon Milig, fa maith clann . . .

Ocus ²robāi ingen ³ig Foraind i. Seota a hainm-sidéin, ¹ ro ⁴chuindig Milidh in ingen sin, ¹ ⁵tug Foraind dō hí: ¹ rue in Scota siu dā mae dhō, i. ⁶Aimirgeom Glüngéal ⁷Eimir a ⁸h-anmanda. Is ⁹andsin ro indarb ¹⁰Alaxandair rīgh in domain in ¹¹Forand sin, ¹²or nír bo ríarad dō hē, ¹ ro ¹³dícheir san Eithiōp ¹⁴indeiseartaig buideas he: ¹ ro ¹⁵cumdaiged cathair la Halaxandar ¹⁶in Éigipt iar ndícheir Foraind dhō, ¹⁷ i. Alaxandrin a hainm, ¹⁸Anais trá ¹⁹Milidh mac ²⁰Bile oche mbliaidna ²¹in Éigipt, ¹ ro foglaimsead dā ²²fear dēc ²³dia muindtir primdána: ²⁴in Séghdha, ²⁵in Sobaire, ¹ in Snuirghe fria²⁶ sáirsí, ²⁷Mandtan ¹ ²⁸Caithearr ¹ Fulman ²⁹fria draidheacht; ³⁰badar ³¹bualaind ¹ badair ³²firbreathaith in triar ³³oile, i. ³⁴Goisilim ¹ ³⁵Amairgeom ¹ Bond: ¹ badar ³⁶cathbñaghaith in triar ³⁷ele, i. ³⁸Milidh ¹ ³⁹Oige ¹ ⁴⁰Uige. ¹ Oeus ro ailsead a ⁴¹n-il-gnímha ¹ a n-ill-dánacht isin ⁴²Éigipt.

154. O ¹ro fairigh trá ²Milidh ³fainde ⁴aimneart do thiachartaín ⁵d'Forand, ¶ ⁶ Alaxanndair ⁷aga indarba ||, ⁸eeileabraidh dō: ⁹ní ¹⁰hair a ūamhoin itir, acht ro ¹¹tairrngeiridh é druidhib ¹²ferann ¹³righé do ghabhail dō. ¹⁴Doluiigh Milidh iarsin ¶ for Muir Rúaidh ||, in lín cētna ¹⁵robáí, ¹⁶Scota ingen Foraind leis.

155. ¹Dosfainegh gäeth mör, ²bertais sair isin ³n-aigen, "seach Indniam, seach Cirord, ⁵seach Golgardaina, seach Indber nGaind, d'inis ⁶Tibra Faine, ⁷‡ 1 anaid mī innti ||, ⁸eongabhsad tir ⁹indti. ¹⁰Imréid iar sin seach ¹¹Indnia, seach Sliabh ¹²Coguaist aniar, ¹³seach Ithiam, seach sruth ¹⁴Boriam, ¹⁵seach Sechthiam, ¹⁶iartharaigh siar, ¹⁷do inblear Mara Caisp. Gabhsad ¹⁸tost tri nōmaide for Muir ¹⁹Caisp fria dord na ²⁰murdhūchond. ‡ Is é failti domiad, canaid ceol ²¹im n-a cure[h]aibh 1 im na barcaibl,

153. ¹⁻³ Forand Fornechtenibus fa rig Egept an inbaid sin, ⁷ fuair
 Milig morfaillti aici: ⁷ is do sin ro chan in t-colach in rand-sa
 (om. ro) ⁹ oc ⁴ -dich Milig ⁵ tuc ⁶ Aimirgin Gluingel ⁷ Emer
⁸ -nna ⁹ annsin ¹⁰ Alxandair rig ¹¹ Forann ¹² uair ni ha ¹³ dichnuir
 isan Eitheob ¹⁴ aich fodeas ¹⁵ cumdaigh B chuidhich M ¹⁶⁻¹⁸ om.
¹⁷ ins. na cathrach sin ⁷ iar ndichur Foraind ro cumdaiged in cathair sin
¹⁸ Milig ¹⁹ Bili ²⁰ an Egept ²¹ fer ²² da ²³⁻²⁵ i. Segda i Sobairce
 Suigfri ²⁶ Mantan ²⁷ Caither ²⁸ fri draigecht ²⁹ buadlaind ²⁸ aich
²⁹ aile ³⁰ Geisten ³¹ Aimirgin ³² ins. i B: cathbuadaig M ³³ aile ³¹ Milig
³³ Oici ³⁴ Uieci ³⁵ ailsead ³⁶ gnima ⁷ a n-il-danacht ³⁹ nEgept.

153. Pharaos Nechtenibus was King of Egypt at that time, as the learned sang this quatrain

Poem no. XIX.

Now Pharaon had a daughter named Scota, and Mil asked for that maiden, and Pharaon gave her to him: and that Scota bore two sons to him, Amorgen and Glungel and Eber their names. It is then that Alexander, king of the world, drove out that Pharaon, for he was not submissive to him, and expelled him southward, into southern Ethiopia: and a city was built by Alexander in Egypt after he had expelled Pharaon, Alexandria its name. Mil son of Bilo tarried eight years in Egypt, and twelve men of his followers learnt the principal arts: Segda, Sobairee, and Suirge learnt craftsmanship, Maantan, Caicher, and Fulman learnt druidry: another three, Gosten, Amorgen, and Domi, were arbitrators and judges: the other three, Mil, Oici, and Uici, were warriors. They nurtured their multiplicity of actions and of accomplishments in Egypt.

154. Now when Mil perceived that weakness and loss of strength had come upon Pharao, [and that Alexander was driving him out], he took leave of him: by no means from fear, but it had been promised him by druids that he would get an estate and a kingdom. Thereafter Mil went [upon the Red Sea]—there was the same tally as before—and Seota daughter of Pharao with him.

155. A great wind came upon them, which carried them eastward in the ocean, past India, past *Cirord*, past *Golgardoma*, past the estuary of the Ganges, to the island of Taprobane, and they landed therein. [They remain within it a month]. Thereafter they voyaged past India, past Mount Caucasus from the west, past *Ithia*, past the river *Boria*, past western Seythia westward, to the estuary of the Caspian Sea. They were in silence for three weeks upon the Caspian Sea, by

154. ¹ra airig ²Milic ³faindi ⁴-nerti ⁵ar ⁶aca n-indarba
⁷celebraid ⁸haru oman ⁹-giread ¹⁰Forann righe B: ferann ¹¹rigi de
gobail M ¹¹doluid ¹²om. rebai.

155. ¹ fanic in gaeth	² 7 beris soir	³ n-aicen	⁴ sech Innia sech
⁵ sech Golgordoma	⁶ Tibraid Fane	⁷ i. Matumiti B	⁸ ins. ⁷ ⁹ intiti
¹⁰ inrit	¹¹ Innia	¹² Cucais	¹³ seach (Triam <i>expuncted</i>) Ithiam B sech
n-Ithiam M	¹⁴ Boiriam	¹⁵ sech Sceithia	¹⁶ gich siar
¹⁷ tost i. ix maidé B, ¹⁸ tost ind. iii. ix maidi M	¹⁹ Chaisp fri	²⁰ -duchand	²¹ can chodlaid
²² in i. a B in a eurchaib	²³ in a mbarecaib	²⁴ euimgid	

comha ²²cumgaid na dâine ²³gan colludh fris. ²⁴Inti is eôlach triu doberaid bî leaghtha na ²⁵cluannaibh, ar ²⁶na cluindis in ceôl itir. Ro ²⁷eeachladar ceôl iarom do muindtir, ²⁸|| eor theasairg Caitear drai.²⁹

Dolodar a tir na ²⁰Ciechloisgthe:

B

fearoid-sidéin cath amail firn friu. Is aire do loisedis a ciche deasa, ar na tairmisedis a congeindtlencht, conad anfhaist gebeas f[1]athus in tire sin. Dâ ceinél trichad a l-lin. Do Fagsat—

M

1 feirfaid eatha eo hilarda amail firn friu. Is aire ro loisedis a ciebhi deasa, ar na tairmisedis a n-dibraici unpu. Oeus is é lin geibeas flaitheas in tiri sin i. dâ chenél trichad a lin. Oeus do Taesad—

meic ²⁰Milidh lucht ²¹fichit long dia ²²muintir annsin, ²³ceithre ²⁴ceinéla cethrachad ²⁵gu Seithia.

156. Dolodar ¹seach Albaniam siar, ²sench ³Sléibh Rifi a ⁴tuaigh, sech Alania, ⁵congabhsat in nAissia. Ansad ⁶mî indte. ⁷Asbert Caithear drai ri: Ni anfaidis ⁸gu roistis Errinn, ⁹Réisead iarom seach ¹⁰Ghothium do German: ceithre ceinél cõicat a lin, in tan dono ¹¹thâinig loingsis Mac ¹²Miled, gur gabsad in ¹³Gearmain ina hoirr. ¹⁴Dolodar dâ n-ocht ¹⁵déig ¹⁶milidh do mîleadaibh ¹⁷Traicia for loingeas, ¹⁸gu maeu Miled, i. fo elu ¹⁹nirdercu(i) na loingsi; ²⁰ combadar ²¹in n-ñentaidh Mac ²²Miled: ²³do ²⁴rarngairsead arsaidhe dôibhsium soighe thîre leo dia ngabhdais ²⁵tir feisin. ²⁶Dësin trâ rothsealgadar Gâdhil ar òigin in tir a ²⁷filead Cruithneachu. In ²⁸mileidh sin trâ ²⁹Dolodar a ³⁰Traicia i Cruithneantuath.(b) ³¹Réissead iar sin tar struth ³²Réin, seach ³³Gailliam do ³⁴Belgicham i bail ³⁵ocht ceandadacha dêg ³⁶ i bail cûig eathreacha dêg ar cêt: ³⁷ seach ³⁸lind Lughdhanensis, ³⁹seach Gailliam Equitniam in Easpain ⁴⁰deiscertaigh: dar

²⁰ neach ²¹cluasaib ²²nach eluintis ²³chechladar ²⁴ins. Milid: eo ro theasaire ²⁵ins. iad: do lotar i tir ²⁶loisci. In mg. in a 17th cent. hand, Amazonam regio, M ²⁷Milead ²⁸om. fichit B ²⁹C M ³⁰ceithri M, im. changed to the numeral by dotting the minims B ³¹cenela ceath- ³²co.

156. ¹ seach Albani ²ins. ³ Sliab Rife ⁴tuaid ⁵ seach ⁶ congabhsad inaicia ⁷mais inti ⁸adbert ⁹friu ¹⁰co roithdis Errind ¹¹roichset iarum ¹²Goithiam ¹³tanic loinges ¹⁴ead eor ¹⁵Germain isin n-airther ¹⁶dolotar ¹⁷om. ¹⁸milead ¹⁹ins. na: Traigia for loinges ²⁰eo macaib

reason of the crooning of the Sirens. [This is the welcome they would make: they would chant music around their canoes and their ships, and the people could not choose but fall asleep thereat. He who was most euming among them would place molten pitch in their ears, so that they should hear naught of the music. Thereafter they sang music to the followers (of Mil),] till Caicher the druid rescued them.

They came into the land of the Amazons,

who fought a battle like men with them. This is why they were wont to burn their right breasts, that they should not hinder (their warrior-craft, so that no tyrant)(a) should take dominion of that country. Thirty-two tribes were their tally.

who fought battles in multitudes like unto men with them. This is why they were wont to burn their right breasts that their archery should not be interfered with therewith. This is the tally of them that took dominion of that land, thirty-two tribes. And

The sons of Mil left the crews of twenty ships of their people there, and forty-four companies [from that back] to Scythia.

156. They came past Albania westward, past the Rhipaeon Mountain in the north, past Alania, till they settled in Asia. They stayed a month there. Caicher the druid said unto them: Ye shall not rest till ye reach Ireland. Thereafter they journeyed past Gothia to Germania: fifty-four tribes was their tally when the expedition of the sons of Mil came, and they settled in Germania in the East. Twice eighteen of the soldiers of Thrace came on an expedition to the sons of Mil, that is, inspired by the fame of the glory of the expedition; so that they came into a league with the sons of Mil: and elders had promised them that they should attain to a territory along with them, if they should themselves take land. For that reason the Gaedil attacked by force the land where the Cruithne are. Now these soldiers came from Thrace into Pict-land. They sailed thereafter across the river Rhine, past Gallia to Belgia, where there are eighteen

Milead ²⁰ i airrdercus ²¹ins. sin ²²an aentaich ²³ead ²⁴raigirsead faidi doibscam saigid thiri ²⁵feisin tir ²⁶Is desin tra ro selgadar Gaeidil ²⁷fuilead Cruithnig aniu ²⁸Milig ²⁹dolodar ³⁰dittographed ³¹Tragia ³²rearsad ³³Ren ³⁴Gaillaino ³⁵Belgichaine i fail i ful (sic) ³⁶⁻³⁷uli. ³⁸ceunacha dec ea fuilead u. eathracha deg ar chet ³⁹ i ins. seo. man. B ⁴⁰lind ⁴¹dittographed B ⁴²⁻⁴³ seach Gailliam seach Earitniam siar co

(a) See the note, pp. 146-7.

(b) An erasure of three letters here, B.

Druim Sait in ²⁹Easpain ³⁰tuisceartaigh, tar ³¹Farus, combadar ³²u cathair Breogain, ³³ba folam-sidhe ar a ³⁴chind, ³⁵ansad ³⁶sandsidhe tricha an ³⁷aittreabh; ³⁸feadair eithre catha ³⁹air cōicat ⁴⁰fri. Heaspanchu ⁴¹Langbardu ⁴²Bacern, ⁴³ro ⁴⁴moighsead uile re ⁴⁵Milidh mae ⁴⁶mBile im ⁴⁷ceart nEaspaine, ⁴⁸ro ⁴⁹fertha na catha ⁵⁰soin uile ⁵¹gur ghabh flaithus nEaspaine ar ⁵²éigin. Oeas is dē sin ro ⁵³ainmigeand i. ⁵⁴Miled Easpaine, ⁵⁵úair Golamh a ⁵⁶cēt ainm: ⁵⁷is in ⁵⁸Easpain ro geinidat dā mae ⁵⁹Miled i. ⁶⁰Éirimón ⁶¹Arondan, in ⁶²kosar. In dū ⁶³sindsear imorro i. Dond ⁶⁴Airech ⁶⁵Fulimadh, isin Scethia ⁶⁶Rugtha, ⁶⁷Seang ingean Rafallair meic ⁶⁸Nema a mūthair: Colptha ⁶⁹oc na Gaethlaigib: ⁷⁰Rugadh Hir for Muir ⁷¹Traigia: ro ⁷²geinir ⁷³Eber Find ⁷⁴Amairgein in Elgapt. Rugtha sē meic e gae mae Miled re Scota, ⁷⁵da mae ris in ⁷⁶nEspanāigh. Is dē ⁷⁷sin asbert in ⁷⁸flidh,

Ocht meic Golaim na n-gáire . . .

⁷⁸Oeas gu roibi slíge Miled cona muindteir sin, átō in Seeithia ⁷⁹Airrtheraig gu Heighipt ⁸⁰átō Eígypt gu Hespain. ⁸¹Dosfainigh tamh ⁸²coneipil dā fánomain dég dē, (a) im na ⁸³trí ⁸⁴rígha Easpaine, i. Miledh ⁸⁵Oige ⁸⁶Uige: amail ⁸⁷asbert ⁸⁸Cend Faeladh ⁸⁹is a slícht ⁹⁰so —

Doluid Miled as in Soithia.

157. 'No go maidh i so gnáth-slighi na nGháedheal: óir it ag(+) Ogamain' ro ¹Fagsamar, ²gē ro leanamar do Mili gae cona muindtir is lind ³impōgh gu Illogaman dorighisi.

'Gabas Refill mac Nemin ⁴ríghi, eo dorchaír la ⁵Taid mac Ogamain. Do rocháir Tait iarom do lāim ⁶Refloir meic Refill. Bái ⁷cosnam flaithusa itir ⁸Rafloir mac Refill ⁹Agnomain mac ¹⁰Taid, condorchaír ¹¹Refleoir.

Heasbain udeascertaich ¹²inasp an e ¹³ins. above the a see. man. M ¹⁴-taich ¹⁵forus ¹⁶i ¹⁷fa falam-siden ¹⁸cind ¹⁹ausdiden ²⁰aitreib ²¹fidthis(b) ²²ceithri ²³ar ²⁴fri Baeru ²⁵moidsead uili ²⁶Milidh ²⁷om. m. ²⁸cheart ²⁹ins. ar éigin ³⁰feartha ³¹sin ³²corgob flaithus ³³ged-som ³⁴Milidh ³⁵ins. dorad fris ar a militaecht ³⁶ched ³⁷nEaspain re geneadar ³⁸-ead ³⁹Eremón ⁴⁰Barannan ⁴¹dana ⁴²kosar ⁴³ser ⁴⁴Feabruad ⁴⁵rucad iad ⁴⁶Steng ingen Refloir ⁴⁷ins. see. man. B; Nemain M ⁴⁸o Gnathlaidhigib B ⁴⁹rucad imorro ⁵⁰Thraigia ⁵¹genair ⁵²Emer ⁵³Aimirgin san Eígypt rucad. Se meic ag Milidh ⁵⁴nEaspain ⁵⁵om. sin ⁵⁶l-olach ⁵⁷acus is i sin slígi cloimdi Milead Easpaine cona ⁵⁸cuintir ota ⁵⁹airtearach co Heígypt ⁶⁰ota Eígypt co Hespain ⁶¹dosfanic

provinces and a hundred and fifteen cities: past the Gulf of Lyons, past Gallia Aquitanica, into southern Spain: over Druim Sait into Northern Spain, over the Pyrenees (1), till they were in the city of Breogan. It was empty before them, and there remained within it thirty of their homesteads. They fought fifty-four battles with the Hispani and the Langobardi and the Bucru, and they were all subdued by Mil s. Bile in the matter of the title to Spain; all those battles were fought, till he (Mil) obtained the princedom of Spain by force. Thenew was he called Mil of Spain: for 'Golam' was his first name. In Spain were two sons of Mil born, Eremón and Arandan, the two youngest. The two eldest, Donn and Airech Februa, in Scythia were they born, and Seng daughter of Refloir a. Nema was their mother. Colptha, at the Marshes was he born; Ir was born on the Thracian Sea; Eler Find and Amorgen in Egypt. Six of the sons of Mil were born of Scota, two of them in Spain: thereanent spake the poet —

Poem no. XX.

And in that wise was the route of Mil with his people, from Eastern Scythia to Egypt, and from Egypt to Spain. There came a plague, so that twelve wedded couples of his people died thereof, including the three kings of Spain, Mil and Oece and Uee; as Cend Faelad saith in the following version

Poem no. XIV.

157. Or it may be that this is the beaten track of the Gaedil: we have left it at Ogamain; and though we have followed on to Mil with his people, it is time to return to Ogamain again.

Refill s. Noemius took the kingdom, till he fell at the hands of Tat s. Ogamain. Thereafter Tat fell at the hand of Refloir s. Rifill. There was a contention for the princedom between Refloir s. Refill and Agnomain s. Tat, until Refloir fell.

⁵⁵ins. enlaithi an Espan coneabil da lanamain dhéig ⁵⁶tur B ⁵⁷rigaib ⁵⁸Uici ⁵⁹Oici ⁶⁰adfed ⁶¹Cenn ⁶²⁻⁶³om.

157. ¹-⁴Atbearait araille do eolchaib is i seo gnáth-sligid na nGaeideal dair is ac Ogamain ²faesamar ³impod co Hogamain dorisi ⁴uair dogob ⁵in rigi condorchaír ⁶Tait ⁷Refleoir meic Rifill ⁸imchosnám flaithusa ⁹Refloir m. Rifill ¹⁰Ogamain ¹¹Tait ¹²Rafloir do laim (Ogamain meic ¹³M in marg.) Thait.

(a) One letter, with a stroke above it, erased here, M.

(b) Not clearly written: might also be -it.

(c) Written ¹ó²ó³ó⁴án B, the mark over the o partly erased.

158. 'Conad aire sin ro kindarbadh sīl ²nGāedil for muir, i. ³Agnomain 7 'Lāmfind a mae, eo mbadar seeht bliadna for muir ⁵a timecoll in domain a tūaidh. ⁶As lia a thuiream na mar indistear: 7 'is andsin ro ⁸chēadar mōr d'ule. ⁹Is ¹⁰aire tugadh Lāmfind ¹¹ar mae ¹²nAghnomoin, ¹³ar na ba soillsi ¹⁴caindell inaid a lāmha con ¹⁵imrom. ¹⁶Trī longa dōibh, 7 ceangal ¹⁷etoru na deachsad cāch ¹⁸dībh 6 chēle. Trī ¹⁹tōisig badar ²⁰oga, iar ²¹n-ēg Agnomain isin ²²muinchind Mara Caisp, i. ²³Lāmfind 7 Alloth 7 Caihear drai.

159. Is ¹ē in Caihear sin ²dorighne ³leigheas dōibh dia mbāi in ⁴murdūchaint aga mbrēgadh, i. bāi in ⁵collud aga forraeh ⁶frisin ⁷eeōl. Is ⁸ē leigheas fuair ⁹Caiher dōib, i. ¹⁰cēir do leaghadh ¹¹na clūasaibh. Is ¹¹ē ¹²Caihear adubairt dia ¹³rosfug in gāeth isin n-aigen, ¹⁴gur cēsadar mōr do gorta 7 ¹⁵d'itaid and, eo ¹⁶ruachtadar a cind seachtmaine ¹⁷i rind mōr ¹⁸ō Sléibh Rifi bho tūaid, conadh isin rind sin ¹⁹fnaradar tobar ²⁰go mblās ²¹fīna, ²²go ro ²³loingsi (*sic*) and combadar trī ²⁴lā 7 trī ²⁵haidhche in a cotludh andsin: ²⁶condebairt ²⁷Caihear drai: ²⁸Érigh, ar sē, 7 nī anfam ²⁹go roisium Ériu. Ca hairm ³⁰atā Ériu? ar ³¹Lāmfind mac Agnōin. Is ³²faidi, ar ³³Cathar drai, ³⁴nā 'n Seeithā, 7 nī sind fein ³⁵roichfeas acht ar eiland, ³⁶a cind trī cēt bliadan ³⁷ondiu.

158. ¹conadh uime B ²nGāedil tar ³Agnon ⁴Lāmind ⁵timehell (*om. a*) ⁶uair is lia a tuir. ⁷om. is andsin ⁸chesidar ⁹ins. 7 ¹⁰airi thucad Lamfind ¹¹om. ar mae B ¹²Agnon ¹³uair nir bo ¹⁴coindell anait ¹⁵imram ¹⁶ceathra ¹⁷eturu ¹⁸o chele dib ¹⁹taisich ²⁰acco ²¹nee Agnon ²²cind M ²³Lamfind 7 Alloth.

159. ¹he ²dorindi. ³leiges doib ⁴-chand oga mbregad ⁵⁻⁵collad oca mellad ⁶written ceoil and the i expuncted B ⁷he leiges ⁸-theair

158. For that reason was the seed of Gaedel driven forth upon the sea, to wit Agnomain and Lamfind his son, so that they were seven years on the sea skirting the world on the northern side. More than can be reckoned or related <is their adventure>, and there they suffered much of hardship. The reason why the name Lamflind was given to the son of Agnomain was, that not (greater) in radiance was a candle than his hands, on the voyage. They had three ships with a coupling between them, that none of them should move away from the rest. They had three chieftains after the death of Agnomain on the surface of the Caspian Sea, namely Lamflind and Allot and Caicher the druid.

159. This is that Caicher who made a remedy for them, when the sirens were playing them false: sleep was overcoming them at the music. This is a remedy which Caicher the druid found for them, to melt wax in their ears. It is Caicher who spake when the wind drove them into the ocean, so that they suffered much with hunger and thirst there; till at the end of a week they reached a great promontory northward from the Rhipacan Mountain, and in that promontory they found a spring with the taste of wine, and they feasted there, and were three days and three nights asleep there. But Caicher the druid said: Rise, said he, we shall not rest until we reach Ireland. What place is 'Ireland'? said Lamflind son of Agnomain. Further than Seythia is it, said Caicher the druid; it is not ourselves who shall reach it, but our children, at the end of three hundred years from today.

⁹cer ¹⁰ins. na leagad ¹¹he ¹²-ther ¹³-fue ¹⁴om. gur: cēsadar ¹⁵dītaī B ¹⁶ro riachtadar ¹⁷a ¹⁸om. o: Sleibh Rife fo thusaid ¹⁹fuaridair ²⁰eo ²¹fīna ²²eo ²³loingsead ²⁴laithi ²⁵haidechi na codlad ²⁶concarbaitl B ²⁷-ther ²⁸cirigid ²⁹eo roisem Erind ³⁰ita an Ériu ³¹Lāmfind ³²fada ³³Caihear ³⁴ina in ³⁵roithfeas ³⁶i ³⁷oniug.

160. ¹Gabhsat ²īarsin is na Gaethlaigib Meadondaeda. Is andsin ³rugadh mae do ⁴Lāimfind i. ⁵Ēber Glūnfind: i. ⁶comarta geala badar for a ghlūnibh. ⁷Is ē ⁸ba ⁹tāiseach ¹⁰dar ēis a athar. ¹¹Hua dō-sain, Feibhri, hua dō-sein Nuada.

161. Brath mae ¹Deaatha meie ²Earehadha meie ³Alloid meie ⁴Nuagad meie ⁵Nenuail meie ⁶Fheibrie Glais meie ⁷Aighne Find meie Ēbir Glūnfind meie ⁸Lāmfind meie ⁹Aghnomain meie ¹⁰Thaid meie Ogamain meie ¹¹Beoamoin meie ¹²Ēimir Sguit meie Srū meie Easrū meie ¹³Gāidil ¹⁴otāid Gāidil.¹⁵ Is ¹⁵ē sein tāinig is na ¹⁶Gaethloighibh, ¹⁷ar ut Mara ¹⁸Toirriam, do ¹⁹Crēid, i do ²⁰Shigir, i do riachtadar ²¹gu Heaspāi ²²īar sin. Gabhsat ²³Easpāin air ēigin.

162. ¹Aduomain trā mae Tait, is ē ²Gāidheal-tōisinach ³thānig asin Seeithā. Dā mae lais, i. Lāimfind ⁴Alloth. Āen mae ⁵aig Lāimfind i. Ēber Glūnfind. Āen mae ⁶ag Alloth, i. Ēber Dub, i ⁷coimhainsir is na ⁸Gaethloighibh. Dā ⁹hua aco i ¹⁰comflaithus i. ¹¹Toitheachta mae ¹²Teitrig meie Ēbir ¹³Duinn ¹⁴Nenuail mae ¹⁵Feibhri meie ¹⁶Adhgnoin meie Ēbir Glūnfind, ¹⁷Soitheachta mae ¹⁸Mandtan meie Caithir.¹⁹

163. Lucht ¹eeithre long tra ²tāngadar Gāidhil gu Heaspāin, ³mōrscisiur anhus gan mhnā. Brath, lucht luingi. ⁴Oige ⁵Uige, lucht dā long—dā bhrāthair iad, i. dā mae Alloit meie ⁶Ogamain meie Thoithechta meic ⁷Teitrig meie Ēbir ⁸Duinn meic ⁹Alloit meic Ogamoin. ¹⁰Mandtan, lucht ¹¹luinge, mae ¹²Caicher meie Earehadha

160. ¹ gabhsat ² sic M; iar uGaethloighibh Meadh eobaedhai B ³ rued ⁴ find ⁵ Emer Glunfind ⁶ comarthada gela ⁷ ins. ⁸ fa ⁹ -sech ¹⁰ tar ¹¹ fa dosiden fa fua Feibrig, ua dosiden i. Nuada.

161. ¹ Deatha ² Ereha ³ Alloit ⁴ Nuadad ⁵ Nenuail ⁶ Feibri ⁷ Agnoim Phind ⁸ Lāimfind ⁹ Agnoimoin ¹⁰ Thait ¹¹ ain ¹² Ēbir Scuit ¹³ Gaeidil ¹⁴⁻¹⁵ om. ¹⁶ he sin tanic as ¹⁷ laigib ¹⁸ om. ar ut B ¹⁹ -ian ²⁰ Chreid ²¹ Thieil ²² co Hisp. ²³ om. iar sin, ins. ²⁴ gabsad ²⁵ Er.

160. Thereafter they settled in the Maeotic Marshes. There a son was born to Lamfhind, Ēber Glunfhind: that is, white marks were on his knees. He it is who was chieftain after his father. His grandson was Feibri: his grandson was Nuadu.

161. Brath s. Death s. Ereha s. Allot s. Nuadu s. Nenuail s. Feibri Glas s. Agni Find s. Ēber Glunfhind s. Lamfhind s. Agnomain s. Tat s. Ogamain s. Boamain s. Ēber Scot s. Sru s. Esru s. Gaidel from whom are the Gaidil. He it is who came in [sic, read “out of”] the Marshes, along the Torrian Sea, to Crete and to Sicily, and thereafter they reached Spain. They took Spain by force.

162. As for Agnomain s. Tat, he was the Gaedil-chieftain who came out of Scythia. He had two sons, Lamfhind and Alloth. Lamfhind had one son, Ēber Glunfhind. Alloth had one son, Ēber Dub, at the same time as [the sojourn in] the Marshes. They had two grandsons in joint rule, Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Ēber Donn, and Nenuail s. Feibri s. Agnomain s. Ēber Glunfhind; there was also Sothecht s. Mantan s. Caicher.

163. Four ships' companies strong came the Gaedil to Spain, with seven unwived hirelings. Brath, a ship's company. Oeece and Uece, two ships' companies: two brethren were they, the sons of Alloit s. Ogamain s. Toithecht s. Tetrech s. Ēber Donn (*read* Dub) s. Alloit s. Ogamain. Mantan, a ship's company—s. Caicher s.

162. ¹ Aignoimen ² Gaeidel-toisech ³ tanic ⁴ Alloit ⁵ ac LamFind ⁶ ac ⁷ comhainsir ⁸ Gaethlaidib ⁹ ua aco ¹⁰ -theas ¹¹ Toithechta ¹² Teitrig ¹³ Duib ¹⁴ Febrig ¹⁵ Agnoim ¹⁶ Seothechta ¹⁷ Mantan ¹⁸ ins. druid.

163. ¹ cheathra ² thancadar Gaeidil eo ³ moirfeser umus cen mnai ⁴ Oici ⁵ Uici ⁶ Nenuaill m. Nemain m. Alloit m. Agnoimen ⁷ Seitrig ⁸ Duib ⁹ Alloit m. Ogamain m. Begamain ¹⁰ Mantan ¹¹ luingi i. ¹² Caithir m. Erehada

meic ¹²Caemtheachta meic ¹³Toitheachta meic ¹⁴Mandtain
meic Caichir drūadh ¹⁵qui ¹⁶fecit prophetiam, meic ¹⁷Ébir
Eachrūaidh ¹⁸meic Thait meic ¹⁹Ogamoin.

164. Trī catha imorro ro ¹brisidar īar ndul ²an Easpāin, ³i. cath for ⁴Toiseaeha ⁵ cath for ⁶Longbarda ⁷ cath for ⁸Baceo. ⁹Tānig tām forro, ¹⁰con eibleidar ceathrar ar ¹¹fichit dībh im ¹⁰Oige ¹¹im ¹¹Uige, ¹²conatērno ass na dā luing acht dā cuigear im En mae Uige¹² ¹³im Un mae ¹³Uige.

165. Bāi mac maith ¹ag Brath i. ²Breogan, ³ag a ndernadh Tōr ⁴mBreogan ⁵in chathair i. ⁵Brigandsia ⁶a hainm. A Tōr ⁷Breogain imorro adeeas ⁸Ériu ⁹i feascur ¹⁰geimrigh, † i. ¹¹oidheche samhna || adeondaire Ith mac Breogain, amail ro chan Gilla Caeman in duan,¹²

Gādel Glas ōtat Gādel . . .

APPENDIX.

THE LIST OF LANGUAGES.

¹ L	F	B
Betin	Betin	Beithin
Scitin	Scetin	Seethin
Scill	Scill	Scill
Scartin	Scartin	Scairthin
Guit	Guth	Guth

¹²-thechta ¹³-thechta ¹⁴Mantain m. Cathair ¹⁵om. qui
¹⁶fecit prophetiam ¹⁷Emir Echruaid ¹⁸om. m. Tait ¹⁹-main.
164. ¹brisidar ²in ³om. i. ⁴Bacru ⁵Toisechu ⁶Longbardu
⁷co tanic ⁸conebladar ⁹fichit ¹⁰Oici ¹¹Uici ¹²⁻¹³om. ¹²Uici.

¹ Words and letters in this column contained in brackets are now lost from the MS., but restored from O'Curry's transcript.

Ereha s. Coemthecht s. Soithecht (*sic lege*) s. Mantan s. Caicher the druid *qui fecit prophetiam* s. Eber Echruad s. Tat s. Ogamain.

164. They broke three battles after going into Spain : a battle against the Tuscans, a battle against the Langobardi, and a battle against the Barchu. There came a plague upon them, so that four and twenty of their number died, including Oece and Uece. Out of the two ships none escaped, save twice five men, including En s. Oece (*sic lege*) and Un s. Uece.

165. Brath had a good son named Breogan, by whom was built the Tower of Breogan and the city which is called Braganza. From Breogan's Tower was Ireland seen on a winter evening, to wit, on Samain evening. Ith s. Breogan saw it, as Gilla Coeman sang the song,

Poem no. XIII.

¹ L	² M	³ H
Beithin	Beithin	<i>Bithynian</i> ²
Sceithin	Sceithin	<i>Scythian</i>
Scill	Scill	<i>Cilician</i>
Scartain	Sgarthain	<i>Hyrcanian</i>
Guth	Guth	<i>Gothic</i>

165. ¹oc ²Breogu ³oc a ndearnad ⁴mBreogaind ⁵g *ins. sec.*
man. B: Briainsia M ⁶ainm na cathrach ⁷Breogaind ⁸Erind
⁹om. i ¹⁰gemrid ¹¹aidehi Samna adchonnaire ¹²*ins. -sa*, ca derbad.

² On the translations suggested in this column, see the notes (below, p. 148 ff.).

L	F	B
G(r)éic	Greig	Greig
G(erman)	German	Gearmain
G(aill)	Gaill	Gaill
(Poimp)	Poimp	Poimp
(Frigia)	Frigia	Frigia
(Caispia)	Caspa	Caispia
Dardain	Dardan	Dardain ³
Pampil	Pampil	Poimpil
Morind	Morand	Morand ⁴
Liguirm	Ligirnn	Ligearn ⁵
Oatri	Daitluri	Daitluri
Cret	Cret ⁶	Creid
Corsie	Coirsie	Coirsie
(S)icil	Sicil	Sicell
(Reid)	Reit	Reit
(Sardain)	Sardan	Sardan
(Magidon)	Macindon	Maigbidonia
Tesail	Teasail	Teascul
Armein	Armein	Airmeint ⁷
Dalmait	Dalmait	Dalmain ⁸
Romain	Romain	Romain
Rugind	Rungind	Ruiceind
Moisig	Mosie	Moissice
Arboi	Arboiu	Arbboiu
(Hisbain)	Hispan	Hispain
(Gairit)	Gairit	Gairitt
(Huinusind)	Huinusind	Huinusind

³ Might possibly (but not probably) be *Dardamh*.⁴ A large dot (accidental) over the *d*.⁵ A small dot, also accidental, over the *g*.

M	H
Greig	Greig
Germain	German
Gaill	Gaill
Poimp	Poimp
Frigia	Frigia
Caispia	Caispia
Dardain	Dardain
Poimpil	Poimpil
Morand	Morund
Ligern	Ligern
Daithri	Daithri
Creit	Creid
Coirsie	Coisrig
Sicil	Sicil
Reid	Reid
Sardain	Sardain
Magidon	Maigidoin
Teasal	Tesail
Mairmen	Mairmein
Dalmain	Dalmain
Romain	Romain
Ruicend	Ruicend
Moisiuc	Maisiuc
Arboin	Arbain
Hisbain	Espan
Gairit	Gairit
Huinusind	Huinusind

⁶ Written Crt.⁷ Or perhaps *Airmeint*.⁸ Changed from *Dalmuin*.

L	F	B
(Saraic)	Saraic	Saraicc
· · · ¹¹	Broes	Broess
· · ·	Brit	Britt
Oric	Horcri ⁹	Horcri
Burgan	Burgan	Burgan
Belgaig	Belgal	Bealgal
Mugaig	Mucaig	Muccaigh
Boét	Boet	Boet
India	India	India
Pardae	Partia	Partia ¹⁰
Callie	Callia	Caillia
Siria	Siriat	Siriat
(Aidin)	· · ·	· · ·
· · ·	Galliat	· · ·
· · ·	Acait	· · ·
Atheni	Atini	Aitini
Albain	Albain	Albain
Saxus	Saxus	Saxus
Ebre	Ebreus	Ebrus
Ardain	Ardan	Ardan
Moysi	Moisi	Moysi
Traciae	Tracin	Traigia
Edis	Edis	Edis
Uesogiam	Uesogum	Ulsogum
Tripolita	Tripolita	Tripolita
Zeugis	Reuigis	Remighis
Numa	Munausa ¹²	Munausa

⁹ Written Horci.¹⁰ Or perhaps Pardia.

M	H
Saraic	Saraicc
Breois	Breös
Brit	Brit
Horcid	Horehind
Brugan	Brugán
Belgal	Belgaſ
Mucaid	Muccaid
Beot	Beót
India	India
Partia	Partia
Caillia	Caillia
Siriath	Siriath
· · ·	· · ·
· · ·	· · ·
· · ·	· · ·
Aitim	Aitine
Albain	Albain
Saxus	Saxus
Ebreus	Ebreus
Ardan	Ardan
Moisice	· · ·
Tragia	Tragia
Eidis	Eidist
Ulsogum	Ulsogum
Tripolitia	Tripolia
Remigis	Remigis
Munchusa	Munchusu

¹¹ These dots represent omissions, not lacunae due to injury of the MS.¹² Written Muna; a.¹³ Or perhaps Edessian.

L	F	B
Murit	Muirid	· · ·
Hicail	Hicail ¹²	Iccail
Gaedilg	Gaedelg	Gaedhealg
· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
Media	Meidia	Meidia
Foirni	Foirnue	Foirni
Grinni	Grinde	Grinni
Franc	Franc	Frangc
Fresin	Freise	Freissi
Longbard	Longbhaird	Longbaird
Lacedemo[in]	Bacidhoin	Baicidoni
Troiana	Tronna	Toronda
Colechia	Colacha	Colacha
Caspia	Caspia	Caspia
Aegipt ¹³	Eigipt	Eigceipt
Aethioip ¹⁴	Ethob	Ethiop
· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
· · ·	· · ·	· · ·

¹² Written Hicail.

¹³ The first a of this version has obviously arisen from a cc in the exemplar which was not clear to the scribe.

¹⁴ To make the tables uniform these two names are printed in the order followed by L, but in all the other MSS. the second name comes first.

M	H	
· · ·	· · ·	<i>Mauretanian</i>
Iaail ¹⁵	Iaail ¹⁶	<i>Italian</i>
Gaeidelg	Gaedelg	<i>Gaelic</i>
· · ·	Moisice	<i>Moesian</i>
Meidia	Media	<i>Median</i>
Forne	Foirne	<i>Persian</i>
Graidi	Grandi	<i>Cyrenean(?)</i>
Frangc	Frainge	<i>Frankish</i>
Fresi	Freisi	<i>Fresian</i>
Longbard	Longbaird	<i>Lombardic</i>
Baicidoin	Baicidoin	<i>Lacedemonian</i>
Tronna	Tronda	<i>Trojan</i>
Colacha	Colacha	<i>Cycladic</i>
Caispia	Caispia	<i>Caspian</i>
Eigceipt	Eigipt	<i>Egyptian</i>
Eitheoip	Eitheóip	<i>Aethiopian</i>
Asdia ¹⁷	Aissdia ¹⁸	· · ·
Cuimniu	Cuimniu	· · ·
Gudsain	Gudsain	· · ·

¹⁵ The names must have been in a columnar arrangement in vHMB, and the words *as dia cuimniugud-sain* “to memorize that” must have been divided into three more or less equal parts to fill up three blank lines in the last column. It was natural for the unintelligent scribe of α H to fall into the trap and to take these *noceas nihili* for the last three names in the list; but that α M did so likewise suggests that the mistake already existed in vHMB. It is possible that for once the narrow columns of $\sqrt{v}B$, compelling a redistribution of the names, enabled α B to restore the correct reading.

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION II

1

R¹ ¶ 106 (L 1 γ 37: F 2 α 22). R³ ¶ 140 (B 10 α 12:
M 268 β 47; H 100 β 5).

¹Fēne ð ²Fheinius ³asbertar —
⁴brig ⁵can ⁶dochta :
⁷Gāedil ð ⁸Gāediul Glas ⁹garta,
¹⁰Scuit ð ¹¹Scota.

¹ Feni LFM Feine B ² Fenius L Hinius F Fheinias B Fenius MH
³ asbertha F adbertha B adbertha MII ⁴ brigh B ⁵ een L gan B
⁶ docta L (dochta in O'Curry's transcript, but though there appears to be
 a mark over the e in the original, it does not resemble the usual lenition-
 mark; not in facsimile): lochta H ⁷ Gaedil (or perhaps Gao- with o-

xi.

R¹ and Min ¶ 107 (L 1 δ 8: F 2 β 13: μΛ 26 α 18: μR 91 γ 5). R² ¶ 142 (B 10 α 37: M 268 δ 1: H 100 β 22).

1.	¹Bérla, ²in, ³domain, ⁴dēchaid, ⁵lib, ⁶Bethin, ⁷Seithin, Seill, ⁸Seartain, ⁹Guth, ¹⁰Grēc, ¹¹Germāin, Gaill eo ngrāin, ¹¹ ¹²Paimp, ¹³Frigia, ¹⁴Dalmait, ¹⁵Dardāin.	310
2.	¹Poimpil, ²Morind, ³Ligairn lir, ⁴Oatre, ⁵Creit, ⁶Corsic, ⁷Cipir, ⁸Tessail, ⁹Caspia, ¹⁰Armēin, ¹¹ain, ¹²Reit, ¹³Sicil, ¹⁴Saraic, ¹⁵Sardāin.	315

1. ¹berlai R ²an H ³domun B domin H ⁴decid L dechaidh ⁵uA B
deehthar MH ⁶libh ⁵uA B ⁶Beitin F Beithin R² ⁷Seethin FMH
Seethin ⁵uRB ⁸Scartin F Scarthain ⁵uRMH Scartin (*a very small dot,*
not a tenition mark, over the t) ⁵uA ⁹Guith L Goith ⁵uA R om. L ¹⁰Greice
⁵uA Greig B Greg MH ¹¹⁻¹²Gall (Goill ⁵uR) Germain co ngrain ⁵uA R: om. B
¹²Poimp LFMH om. B ¹³Prigia H ¹⁴Dalmaith FB Dalmaid MH
¹³Dardan FH.

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION II.

x

Feni are named from Feinius — a meaning without secretiveness : Gaedil from comely Gaedel Glas, Scots from Scota.

inserted above the line: lenition-mark over d sec. man.: two dots side by side beneath d, and an i beneath them F Gaedheil B Gaeid- MH) ⁸ Gaedil F Gaedhel B Gaeidel M ⁹ garthu B ¹⁰ Scuitt L Sguit B ¹¹ Scota changed to Scoto by re-inker L.

XI.

1. The languages of the world, see for yourselves—
Bithynia, Scythia, Cilicia, Hyrcania,
Gothia, Graecia, Germania, Gallia with horror,
Pentapolis, Phrygia, Dalmatia, Dardania.
2. Pamphylia, Mauretania, populous Lyeaomia,
Bactria, Creta, Corsica, Cyprus,
Thessalia, Cappadocia, noble Armenia,
Raetia, Sicilia, Saracen-land, Sardinia.

2. 'Poim L Pampil F Paimpil μ_{AaR} ⁷ Morann F Morinn μ_{R} Morand
 BM Morund H ⁹ Liguirn I, μ_{AaR} Ligirn F Ligerun B Ligarn MII
 'Oitri F Ogu (sic) μ_{AaR} Daithri BM Daithri H ⁸ Credit FMH ¹⁰ Coircis
 μ_{AaRMH} Coir B ⁷ Cibir F Sicil MH ⁸ Tesail μ_{AaR} Teasail BHM
 'Caispia C ¹⁰ Armen μ_{B} Airmen MH ¹¹ am B ¹² Reic F Reice B
 Reic M Reig H ¹³ Siccill B Sirie II ¹⁴ Sarait μ_{AaR} Sairie H ¹⁵ Sardan F,

3. ¹Belgaig, ²Boet, ³Bretnais, ⁴Brōes ⁵bind,
⁶Hispānia, ⁷Romāin, ⁸Rugind,
⁹Humind, ¹⁰India, ¹¹Araib ūir,
¹²Mueaig, ¹³Maisie, ¹⁴Maeidōin. 320

4. ¹Parthia, ²Callia, Siria, ³Sax,
⁴Athin, ⁵Achait, ⁶Albaneas,
⁷Ebra, Ardain, ⁸Galait ⁹glain,
¹⁰Troia, ¹¹Tesalja, ¹²Colaig.

5. ¹Maisi, ²Media, ³Foirni, ⁴Franc,
⁵Grinni, ⁶Laedemōin, ⁷Longbard,
⁸Tracia, ⁹Numeid, Edis — ¹⁰ēist!
¹¹Eacail ard, ⁹ ¹²Ethioip, Égypt. 325

6. ¹Ac sin līn ²mbērla ³een ⁴meirg
⁵as ro ⁶theip ⁷Gaedel ⁸Gaedeilg:
⁹aichnid ¹⁰dam ¹¹a rēim ērgna,
¹²na ¹³haiemi, na ¹⁴hil-bērla. 330

3. ¹Bergaig L Belgait μΑμR Belgail BM Bealgail II ²Baeth FR⁸
³Britain F μΑμR om. B Bretnais M Bretnus H ⁴Bras FM om. μΑμR
Brass B Bres H ⁵binn μR ⁶no Umania ins. above line in bad hand
F: Asbain F, Espania μΑ Baraes, Hespania μR Espania BM Espan H
⁷Rō in text, and ain ins. above line in some hand as previous insertion F
⁸ins. is R⁸: Ruigind F Ruicind BM Rucind H ⁹Huminn μR Um B Umain
M Uamain H ¹⁰Indiē L Innia μR ¹¹Araig with no b written above the
g in the same bad hand F Araip μΑ Aragh B Aroie H ¹²Magoich μΑ
Magoic μR Muecaidh B Muecaid H ¹³Masic L Moisic FB Moesic μΑ
Maisic μR Maisich M Maissich H ¹⁴Magdoin O'Curry's transcript,
wrongly, Macidain L Macedoin μΑμR Nagidoin B Maigidoin MH.

4. ¹Partia FB Pairtia MH ²om. L Calldis μR Caillia R⁸ ³Saxus L
Sachs F Saxs μR Saxx B ⁴Atin F Sachain μΑ Achain μR Aitin R⁸
⁵Acait FB Accait MH ⁶Albain cais L Albaneas F Albancass μΑ
Albanachas μR Albanchass BII Albanchus M ⁷Abra F Eabra BM
⁸Galiath FM Gaillia H ⁹glan preceded by a dot of punctuation L gloin
FM ¹⁰T⁶rria glossed, apparently in the same bad hand as before, no
Toria (but reading doubtful) F Troighia B Toirria MH ¹¹Teassalia B
Tesailia μΑ H ¹²Colaich μΑμR Colaigh B Colaig MH.

5. ¹Moysi L Moissia μΑ Moessia μR ²Meidia F Meidi M Maidia H
³Farni L Forne F Fairne μΑμR Forni H ⁴Graing L Fraine μΑμR

3. Belgia, Boeotia, Brittanía, tuneful Rhodos,
Hispania, Roma,^(a) Rhegini,
Phoenicia, India, golden Arabia^(b),
Mygdonia, Mazaea, Macedonia.

4. Parthia, Caria, Syria, Saxones,
Athenae, Achaia, Albania,
Hebraei, Arcadia, clear Galatia,
Troas, Thessalia, Cyclades.

5. Moesia, Media, Persida, Franci,
Cyrene, Laedaeonia, Langobardi,
Thracia, Numidia, Hellas (?) — hear it!
Lofty Italia, Ethiopia, Egypt.

6. That is the tally of languages without tarnish
out of which Gaedel cut Gaedelic:
known to me is their roll of understanding,
the groups, the manifold languages.

Trainge R⁸ ⁵Grindi FBH Grinne μΑμR Graindi H ⁶glossed no
Dinsicon (?) in late sec. man. hardly legible L; Laicidon glossed no dimhon
in the same bad hand as before F; Laicemoin μΑμR Laicemion B Laicidoin
M Laigidoin H ⁷Longhardd L Longbaird F μΑμR BH ⁸Traieia F Tragia
B Traigia MH ⁹Numiath Edist Ese Ieail ard F Numia Eisil Eire
Irchain ard μΑ Annum Achaid Eisil Eire IIrcain ard μR Nuimmiath Edist
Ese Eacail Ard B Numia Eigest (-ist H) Ese Eacail ard MH ¹⁰om. L
¹¹Escail ard L ¹²Ettheob Egeft F Ettheop Egipt μΑ Ethoip Egipt μR
Ethoip Egiht B oucus Eigeft (-eipt H) MH.

6. ¹a se in L (the dot om. O'Curry's transcript but clear in MS.) ac
sain F μΑ ahain μR ag sin BII ²berla L berlad F mberladh B ³ean
FMH gsn B ⁴merg μΑM ⁵as ar FR⁸ asso μΑ ⁶teih F teip μR
theib BM ⁷Gaedil F Goedel μΑμR Gaedhel B Gaeidel M ⁸Gaedilg L
Gaedelg F Gaidilg μΑ Gaidile μR nGaedilg B Gaeidelg M Gaeidelg H
⁹aichnidh μΑμR aithni BH aithnid M ¹⁰do L μΑμR damh B dan M
¹¹ar a ergna L (second a om. O'Curry, wrongly) a rem ergna FM ar a
nergna μΑμR a reim argna B ¹²an μR om. H ¹³haiome L n-aiemi F
haiome μΑ aieme μR na naiemed BM aiemedha H ¹⁴nil-berla F μRMH
n-in berla B.

(a) Or Pannonia: see p. 151, no. 26.

(b) Or Narbona: see *ibid.* no. 29.

XII.

R¹ ¶ 107 (L *om.* : F 2 γ 8). R² ¶ 125 (V 2 γ 18). R³ ¶ 150
(B 10 δ 13 : M 269 γ 31).

¹Cethracha γ ²cethri ³cēt
⁴do bliadnaib—nī ⁵himarbrēc—
ō ⁶dolnid ⁷thāth Dā, ⁸derb ⁹lib
tar ¹⁰muincind Mara ¹¹Romair,
¹²co ngabsat ¹³Sečin don muir ¹⁴menu
Meic ¹⁵Milidh ¹⁶i tir ¹⁷Érenn.

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¹ cetracha FV ceatracha B ceathracha M ²ceitri F ceathra M ³chet M
⁴ do bliā F da VM ⁵ himarbrēc FB himurbrēc V himirbrēc M ⁶daluid M
⁷ Tuatha B ⁸dearb BH ⁹diub (sic) V libh B ¹⁰muincind F muinceand M

XIII.

R¹ and Min ¶ 117 (L 2 β 10 : F 3 β 14 : μV [V³] 1 α 1^(b) :
μΔ 26 δ 24 : μR 92 δ 3, *first quatrain only*). R³ ¶ 165
(B 11 δ 15 : M 271 α 30).

1. ¹Gäedel ²Glas ³ötat ⁴Gäedil,
mac-⁵side ⁶Niūl ⁷nert-mäinig : 340
⁸ro bo ⁹thrēn ¹⁰tīar γ ¹¹tair,
Nēl mac ¹²Feiniusa ¹³Farrsaid.

2. Dā mac ¹ae ²Fēnius, fir ³dam,
⁴Nēl ār n-athair ⁵is ⁶Noenal,
⁷rucad ⁸Nēl ⁹oeon Tūr ¹⁰tair,
¹¹Noenal ¹²eon ¹³Scithia seíath-¹⁴glain. 345

3. ¹Tar ēis ²Feiniusa in läich lir
³imtnūth ⁴itir na ⁵brāithrib:
⁶do marb Nēl ⁷Nenual nar mīn;
⁸do ⁹hindarbad in ¹⁰t-ard-rīg. 350

1. ¹Gaidel F Goedel μΔ Gaidel μR Gaeideal M ²Glass LF μΔ
³ötat F μΔ M otaid B ⁴Goidil μΔ Gaidil μR Gaeidhil B Gacidil M
⁵siden F μΔ sidhein B sidein M ⁶Niul F ⁷-maenaig F -maidmig μΔ
-mainigh μR neart-main(i)g B -mainich M ⁸do and om. bo F ro ba μR
⁹tren F μΔ μRB ¹⁰tair F tśair B siar M ¹¹tśair B scir M ¹²Fēniusa
L Fēn; F Feniusa μΔ μRM Feinasa B ¹³Farsaid L μR Farsaig μΔ Farsaigh
B Farsaich M.

2. ¹ic LF ag B ²Fēnius L μΔ M Fenu; F Feinius B ³mark of "m"
yεμΔ; damh B ⁴Nell ar natair F: Nell also B ⁵γ L ⁶sic L μΔ
Naenel F Nainel B Noendel M ⁷rucad μΔ rugadh B ruetha M ⁸Nell F

OF SECTION II.

91

XII.

Forty and four hundred
of years—it is no falsehood—
from when the people of God^(a) came, be ye certain
over the surface of *Mare Rubrum*,
till they landed in Scene from the clear sea,
they, the Sons of Mil, in the land of Ireland.

¹¹romuir VB ¹²this couplet *om.* M: corgabsat FV gur gabsat B
¹³Seen V ¹⁴mend V meand B ¹⁵Milidh F Mileadh B ¹⁶hi V a B
¹⁷nErenn VB

XIII.

1. Gaedel Glas, of whom are the Gaedil,
son was he of Nel, with store of wealth :
he was mighty west and east,
Nel, son of Feinius Farsaid.

2. Feinius had two sons—I speak truth—
Nel our father and Nenual.
Nel was born at the Tower in the east,
Nenual in Scythia, bright as a shield.

3. After Feinius, the hero of ocean,
there was great envy between the brethren :
Nel slew Nenual, who was not gentle ;
the High King was expelled.

¹ic a F hicon μΔ agon B acon M ¹⁰thair μΔ tśair B toir M ¹¹Noinel L
Nenual FM Neanual B ¹²sa BM ¹³Sgeithia B Seeithia M ¹⁴gloin BM.

3. ¹om. this and the next three quatrains L; they have apparently been
written in, sec. man., in the lower marg., but the writing is now nearly all
torn away, and what is left is hopelessly illegible: dar es F taircia B

¹Fenu; a F Feniusa μΔ M ²Fheniassa B ³-thouth B -thaud M
⁴etir μΔ ⁵brathrib F braithrib B: brāithrib yεμΔ ⁶do mbarb F cor
marb μΔ M gur marbh B ⁷Nenual F Ninual μΔ ⁸cor μΔ gur B ro M
⁹indarb B ¹⁰taird- μΔ M tarrd-righ B.

(a) The Israelites, not the Tuatha Dé Danann.

(b) Beginning at quatrain 14.

4. Do-¹chunaid ²san ³Eigipt ⁴trē gail
 'eo riacht ⁵Forand fortamail;
 'eo tue ⁶Scota, ⁷cen ⁸sečim ⁹ngaind,
 'ingen ¹⁰fial gasta ¹¹Foraind.

5. ¹Ruc Scota mac do ²Nel nār,
 òr ³gein mōr-⁴eimed ⁵comlān:
⁶Gädel Glas ⁷airm in ⁸fir—
⁹fa ¹⁰glas a ¹¹airm ¹²éidig.

6. Dō ¹ba mac ²Esrū ³angbaid,
 'ro bo trīath ⁴eo ⁵from ⁶armaib:
 mac d' ⁷Esrū, Srū na ⁸slūng ⁹sen,
 dar dūl ¹⁰each clū ¹¹dar euired.

7. Srū mac ¹Esrū meic ²Gädel
 ër ³sen-athair ⁴slūag-fäelid,
 is ē ⁵fluid ⁶bo ⁷thūaid ⁸dia thaig,
⁹dar ucht Mara ¹⁰rūaid Romair.

8. Lucht ¹cethri long ²lin a slūaig
³for fut Mara ⁴Romair ⁵rūaid :
⁶i n-a ⁷elär-adba, ⁸is eet,
⁹cethri lānamna ¹⁰fichet.

9. Flaith na ¹Seithia, ²ba ³gnim ⁴glen,
 in gilla ⁵darb ainnm ⁶Nenual,
 is ⁷and ⁸satbath ⁹tall ¹⁰na ¹¹thig—
¹²in tan ¹³rāneadar ¹⁴Gädel.

4. ¹chuaidh _A cuaidh B ²an _A ³Eigift F Eigept M ⁴tre ail F
 tria goil _A iarsin M ⁵gur rucht B ⁶Foram F M Forond _A ⁷go
 tug B ⁸Scotta _A ⁹can F gan BM ¹⁰cheih F seem _A M ¹¹ngenn F
¹²ingen F ingean B ¹³fial F _A ¹⁴Forain F Fhoraind M.

5. ¹rug B ²Nell F ³gen F chin M ⁴ceinid F cineadh B cinead M
⁵comlan B ⁶Gädel F Gaidil _A Gaeidil M ⁷ins. ⁸F _A ⁹fir BM
¹⁰glass _A ¹¹arm F ¹²éidig F eitig _A eidigh B eidich M.

6. ¹fa _A M ²Easru BM ³baidh _A B ⁴do F B ⁵eu B
⁶tren M ⁷armarbaibh B ⁸Easru BM ⁹sluagh _A ¹⁰sel _A nglan B
¹¹gach B ¹²dar cuirid F re cuirid _A nar eoilleadh B rer curead M.

7. ¹Easru BM ²Gaidil _A Gaedhil B Gaeidil M ³sean- _A M ⁴sluagh-
 failig _A -failigh B -faelaig M: failid in O'Curry's transcript of L,
 wrongly ⁵luidh _A B luig B ⁶fo L _A M bho B ⁷thuaidh _A thuigh BM

4. He went into Egypt through valour
 till he reached powerful Pharao:
 till he bestowed Scota, of no scanty beauty,
 the modest, nimble daughter of Pharao.

5. Scota bore a son to noble Nel,
 from whom was born a perfect great race:
 Gaelel Glas was the name of the man—
 green were his arms and his vesture.

6. Fierce Esru was son to him,
 who was a lord with heavy arms:
 the son of Esru, Sru of the ancient hosts,
 to whom was meet all the fame attributed to him.

7. Sru son of Esru son of Gaedel,
 our ancestor, rejoicing in troops,
 he it is who went northward to his house,
 over the surface of the red *Mare Rubrum*.

8. The crews of four ships were the tale of his host
 along the red *Mare Rubrum* :
 in his house of planks, we may say,
 twenty-four wedded couples.

9. The prince of Seythia, it was a clear fact,
 the youth whose name was Nenual,
 it is then he died yonder in his house—
 when the Gaedil arrived.

¹the words dia thaig ar fud written in rasura in a late bad hand F: dia
 taig _A da thoigh B dia tig M ²ar ut _A M ar fud FB ³Ruad F
 Ruaidh BM romur F romoir B.

⁴ceithri FB ceathra M ⁵lin badly written in a blank space which
 has contained two erased words F ⁶for fut L ar fud F arut _A arud B
 ar fut M ⁷romuir B ⁸Ruaidh B ⁹ins. tall L: batar gach claradba _A:
 in each FM in gach B ¹⁰clair L clair, the first I stroked through F
¹¹fa cert F ba ceart B fa cet M ¹²coit (om. -ri) F .iii. apparently mis-
 written im B ceithri M ¹³fichead B fichead M.

⁹Sceithia FBM ¹⁰bo F fa BM ¹¹gairm F _A BM ¹²sluagh F
 sluagh B aluagh M ¹³diarbo L ¹⁴Noenai L _A Nenual F Neanual B
¹⁵e F ann _A M ¹⁶adbach FBM ¹⁷thall _A BM ¹⁸ca L ga _A ¹⁹thaig
 L _A tig F thigh B ²⁰om. in L ²¹tancatar F _A M tangadar B
²²ins. na B: Gaidil _A Gaedhil B Gaeidil M.

10. ¹Gabais Ēber ²Seot na scāl
ōs ³chlaind ⁴Nenuail ⁵eo ⁶nef-nār,
⁷eo torchair, ⁸can ⁹cāinius ¹⁰eain,
¹¹la Noemīus mac ¹²Nenuail. 375

11. ¹Nertmar mac Ēbir ²iartain,
³diarbo ainn ⁴becht-glan ⁵Boamain,
⁶eo trāig Mara Caisp ⁷ba ⁸rī,
⁹eo torchair do läim ¹⁰Noemī. 380

12. ¹Noimius ²mac ³Noenil ⁴ind ⁵nirt
⁶rogab in ⁷Seithiā scīath-⁸brice;
do-⁹cher in flaith comlān cain
la ¹⁰Hogman mac ¹¹mBoamain. 385

13. ¹Ogamain ²iarsain ³ba flaith
⁴dar ⁵ēis ⁶Noemiusa ⁷nert-maith :
⁸conerbait na ⁹chrīch, ¹⁰cen ¹¹chill :
¹²dar a ¹³ēis ¹⁴ba rī ¹⁵Refill. 390

14. Dorochair^(a) ¹Refill iartain
²do läim ³Thait ⁴meie ⁵Ogamain :
⁶dorochair ⁷Tait ⁸cen cor ⁹thim
do ¹⁰läim ¹¹Refloir meic ¹²Refill.

10. ¹gabais B ²Scott μ_A ³cl- μ_A chloind B cloind M ⁴Noenil
L μ_A Neannill B Nenuail M ⁵go B ⁶neartmar F nemnar μ_A neartmar
B nertmar M ⁷gundorehair B ⁸cen μ_A gach B ⁹chānius L chainu;
F chainius μ_A cainias B chaineas M ¹⁰crauid FM crauidh B ¹¹la lann
Ain; F lasionoenius μ_A la laind ainias B la Noenil la mac M ¹²Noenil L
Nainil μ_A Neannill B.

11. ¹mar om. and ins. in a bad sec. man, F: neartmar BM ²iarsin F
³darb FM diarb μ_A B ⁴brechtgal L beachtgal B breathglan M
⁵Beomain L Boamin F Beoamain μ_A M Beoamoin B ⁶gu traigh B
⁷fa FM ⁸rig B ⁹condoreair B ¹⁰Nemin (with Neinē written in bad
hand in marg.) F Noemii μ_A Neimni B Nemi M.

12. ¹Nemu; F Noenius μ_A Nenius B Neimius M ²mēc μ_A ³Nenuail
F Nenuail μ_A Nenuall B Nenuail M ⁴in F μ_A B i M ⁵nert M ⁶dogab
F roghab B rogeb M ⁷Sciathia F Seethia BM ⁸-bric F μ_A B breic M

10. Eber Scot of the heroes assumed [the kingdom]
over the progeny of Nenuail unashamed,
till he fell, with no gentle kindness,
at the hands of Noemius son of Nenuail.

11. The strong son of Eber thereafter,
who had the name Boamain, of perfect purity,
to the shore of the Caspian Sea was he king,
till he fell by the hand of Noemius.

12. Noemius son of Nenuail of the strength
settled in Scythia, chequered like a shield :
the perfect fair prince fell
by the hand of Ogamain son of Boamain.

13. Thereafter Ogamain was prince
after Noemius of good strength :
till he died in his territory, unchurched :
after him Refill was king.

14. Thereafter Refill fell
by the hand of Tait son of Ogamain :
Tait fell, though he was not feeble,
by the hand of Refloir son of Refill.

⁹cheir L cer F chear BM ¹⁰Ogmán L Hogaman *the first a sprs. yc* B
¹¹Beomain L mBeomain μ_A Beoamain M mBeomain B.

13. ¹Ogmán LM (*a small a apparently inserted above in L*) Ogaman FB
²iarsin F μ_A BM ³ro bo laith M ⁴tar FM ⁵eisi L es μ_A ⁶Noemī L
(Noenil in O'Curry's transcript, wrongly) Nemu; F Noemiusa μ_A
Neiniassa B Naenissa M ⁷neart- BM ⁸conemaitl F connerb- μ_A
⁹chrīne L crīch other MSS. ¹⁰can F μ_A gan B ¹¹cill FB ¹²tar F μ_A BM
¹³es μ_A ¹⁴ba rig F bairi B fa rig M ¹⁵Rafill L μ_A M Rafill R Refill B.

14. ¹Rafill F Repill μ_A Reifill B Rifill M ²om. do läim μ_A ³Tait F
Thaid B ⁴mēc μ_A ⁵Ogamain μ_V ⁶dorocair B ⁷Taid B ⁸gen gur B
⁹tim F ¹⁰laimh L ¹¹Refloir F Refleoir B Rafroil M ¹²Rafill F
Refill μ_A Reifill B Rifill, *an i after the f sbs. yc* M

(a) Here μ_V begins.

15. ¹Refloir ²is ³Agnou ⁴een òn,
⁵secht ⁶mbliadna ⁷báí ⁸i n-imchosnom,
⁹co torchair ¹⁰Refloir ¹¹co n-glór
¹²do ¹³láim ¹⁴áitisig ¹⁵Agnoin. 395

16. ¹Noinel is ²Refill ³eo rind,
dá mae ⁴Refloir meie ⁵Refill,
⁶innarbsat ⁷Agnomain ⁸ass
⁹dar ¹⁰in muir ¹¹merda ¹²mör-glass. 400

17. ¹Maithi na ²toisig, ³ba dia,
⁴tancadar ⁵asin ⁶Seithia;
⁷Agnomain, Éber ⁸een ⁹ail,
dá mae ¹⁰Tait meie ¹¹Ogamain. 405

18. ¹Elloth, ²Lámfhind ³lám-glas, léir,
⁴dá mae ⁵Agnomain ⁶imrēil,
⁷Caicher is Cing, clú ⁸co ⁹mbūaid,
dá ¹⁰deg-mae Ébir ¹¹ech-rūaid. 410

19. ¹Áirem a ²long, trí longa,
³ae ⁴tiachtain ⁵dar trom ⁶thonna;
trí fíchit ⁷each ⁸sluing, ⁹lúad nglé,
œus mná ¹⁰each ¹¹tres fiehe.

15. ¹Reifloir F Refloir μV Reifloir B Refleir M ²om. is $L\mu V\mu_A$
³Agnō (read Agnomain) L Agnom μV Adnomain μ_A Aghnon B Adnon M
⁴can F gan B ⁵ins. re L; iiiii incorrectly (though mistake pardonable)
in Facs. and in O'Curry's transcript for secht, also in $\mu V\mu_A$ ⁶m. in F only
⁷om. $L\mu V\mu_A$ ba F ⁸i eosnam L nim eosnam F an im-chosnom μV an
imcosnam μ_A -nomh B an imchosnom M ⁹co torchair μV gundorchair B
do rochair M ¹⁰Refloir F Refloir μV Refleir B Rafloir M ¹¹ra gel L
conglor F na reb $\mu V\mu_A$ gu ngloir B ¹²la mac Tait la Agnomain $L\mu V\mu_A$
(Hag- $\mu V\mu_A$) ¹³laimh B ¹⁴atheaasigh B aitheaasigh M ¹⁵Agnoin B
Agnon M.

16. ¹Nenuall F Noenual $\mu V\mu_A$ Neanuall BM ²Rafill F Refloir $\mu V\mu_A$
Reifill B Rifil M ³gu B ⁴Refloir F Refloir μV Reafloir B ⁵Reifill F
Repill μ_A Rifill M ⁶ins. do FB ro M; hindarbsad F indarbat μ_A
indarbsad BM ⁷Agnom $\mu V\mu_A$ Agnon FM Aghnon BM ⁸as FM ⁹tar
FBM ¹⁰an F ¹¹medrach $\mu V\mu_A$ meadrach B mearda M ¹²mor mas F
morglas $\mu V\mu_A$ morthass B.

17. ¹mathi L maithe $\mu V\mu_A$ ²taisig F toissi μV taisigh B taisich M
³bo F dar $\mu V\mu_A$ bu B fa M ⁴taneatar LF $\mu V\mu_A$ tangadar B ⁵assim

15. Refloir and Agnomain without blemish,
seven years were they in contention,
till Refloir fell with tumult
by the victorious hand of Agnomain.

16. Noinel and Refill with a [spear-] point
two sons of Refloir son of Refill,
they drove Agnomain out
over the raging sea, great and green.

17. Good were the chieftains, it was sufficient,
who came out of Seythia;
Agnomain, Éber without blemish,
the two sons of Tait son of Ogamain.

18. Allot, Lamfhind of the green hand, conspicuous,
the two sons of very bright Agnomain,
Caicher and Cing, fame with victory,
the two good sons of Éber of the red steed.

19. The number of their ships, three ships,
coming over heavy waves:
three score [the crew] of every ship, a clear saying,
and women every third score.

$L\mu V$ asan F isa M ¹Seithia F μVBM ²Agnon is FM Agnoin mas
(a *yc in marg.*) is Eimir gan oil B ³can F μVM gan B ⁴oil M ¹⁰Thaitt
I. Thaid B Thait M ¹¹Ogomain $\mu V\mu_A$ Agamoin (*the initial A changed*
sec. man. to O) B.

18. ¹Helloth $\mu V\mu_A$ Ealloth B Alloth M ²Lamfind *hic et semper* F
Lamfind also $\mu V\mu_A$ Laimfind B ³lam glass L lainglas B: laechda in
drem $\mu V\mu_A$ ⁴sic $\mu V\mu_A$; trí meic other MSS. ⁵ins. d' $\mu V\mu_A$:
Agnoin in fir cil F Agnoin in fir feil B ⁶imrel M imathenn μV
imtheann μ_A ⁷Cacher L Caicer F Caichear B Caithear M: Cenclu is
Caither $\mu V\mu_A$ (*looks like Oenclu μV : Caither μ_A*) ⁸gu B ⁹mbuaidh F
buaidh $\mu V\mu_A$ ¹⁰deag. BM ¹¹eachruaid F echluith $\mu V\mu_A$ each
luith (*in marg. sec. man. no ruaidh*) B.

19. ¹arim LF a rim μ_A airim F μV airimh B ²llong L ³ic L hic
 $\mu V\mu_A$ ag B ⁴tidecht F ⁵sic L, tar other MSS. ⁶tonna F
thonda $\mu V B$ thona μ_A ⁷gach B ⁸luingi FM luinge B ⁹ale F
alle B ille M: luadh ngle $\mu V\mu_A$ ¹⁰in $\mu V\mu_A$ gach B ¹¹tress
 μV treas B threas M.

20. ¹Atbath ²Agnon, nír bo aise,
³i n-insib Mara mór-⁴Chaisp :
⁵baile ⁶i mbatar ⁷re bliadain
⁸fuaradar ⁹ro-¹⁰diamair. 415

21. ¹Ráneadar Muir ²Libis ³lán
⁴seolad sē ⁵sám-láithe slán,
⁶Glas mae ⁷Agnóin, nír bo ⁸dis
⁹ann ¹⁰atbath i ¹¹Coronis. 420

22. ¹Cain inis fueradar ²and
³For Muir Libis na lāech-⁴land :
⁵rāithi for bliadain, ⁶eo ⁷mbloid,
a n-⁸saitreb ⁹sin ¹⁰indsi ¹¹soin. 425

23. ¹Seolaid for ²muir, ³monar nglē,
⁴etir ⁵lāthi ⁶aidche :
⁷taitnem ⁸lám ⁹Lámfind ¹⁰laindrig
¹¹ba ¹²cosmail ¹³re ¹⁴cáem-chainlib. 430

24. ¹Ceithre ²tōisig ³dōib nír ⁴dis,
⁵iar tiachtain ⁶dar Muir ⁷Libis;
⁸Elloth, ⁹Lámfind lūath ¹⁰dar ¹¹ler,
¹²Cing is a ¹³bráthair ¹⁴Caicher.

20. ¹athbath F ²Agnomain een aise $\mu V \mu_A$ ³an insib F in
innsib μV ind n-insib μ_A an indsib BM ⁴Caisp F μV BM ⁵bale L
baili F ⁶amar F imbadar B a mbadar M ⁷re bliadain om, F ri $\mu V \mu_A$
ins. i F ⁸hi $\mu V \mu_A$ a M: fueratar L $\mu V \mu_A$ fueradar M ⁹ins. and B
¹⁰dimar F chiamair B.

21. ¹ramcatar LF $\mu V \mu_A$ rangadar B ²Luis L $\mu V \mu_A$ ³lain F
⁴seoladh B ⁵samlaithi FM samhlaithi (*the dotted - for mh yc*) B.
O'Curry has taken this quatrain, which is much rubbed in L, from another MS.; his lines do not correspond with the lines from L, as they should in a line for line transcript, and he reads laithi, whereas laithe is the clearest word in L ⁶Glass μ_A ⁷Aghnoin F Agnon M ⁸dhis B ⁹om. ann
LBM: and μV ¹⁰adbath LBM ¹¹Caroinis L Caronais F Acaraonis B a
Caraoinis M.

22. ¹fuaratar L $\mu V \mu_A$ fuamar F fueradar M ²ann F ³ar F
⁴-lann F μV om. μ_A ⁵rathi L raithe $\mu V \mu_A$ raite B ⁶gu B ⁷mblaid LF

20. Agnomain died, it was no reproach
in the islands of the great Caspian Sea.
The place where they were for a year
they found very secret.

21. They reached the full Libyan Sea,
a sailing of six complete summer days :
Glas son of Agnomain, who was not despicable,
died there in Cercina.

22. A fair island found they there
on the Libyan Sea of warrior-blades :
a season over a year, with fame,
their sojourn in that island.

23. They sail on the sea, a brilliant fact
both by day and by night :
the sheen of the hands of lustrous Lamfhind
was like to fair candles.

24. Four chieftains had they who were not despicable,
after coming over the Libyan Sea;
Allot, Lamfhind swift over the ocean,
Cing and his brother Caicher.

mblaith $\mu V \mu_A$ mbloidh B ⁸airib F anaitreabh μ_A aitreib B aitreb M
⁹san FBM sind μV ¹⁰n-indsi LM innsi μV ¹¹sin LF $\mu V \mu_A$ M.

23. ¹sic sec. man.: scolat prim. man.: L seolait $\mu V \mu_A$ seolaigh B
²mar M ³monor L monur μV comhall B ur (om. mon-) M ⁴idir F
itir M ⁵laith F laithe $\mu V \mu_A$ B laithi M ⁶oidheche B ⁷taitnem F
taittnemh μ_A taitneamh B ⁸lámh μ_A B ⁹Lamind L Lamfind
F μ_A Laimfind μV B ¹⁰laenrig F laindrigh μV laindraig μ_A londraig B
lounraig M ¹¹fa FM ¹²casmail BM ¹³fri L ¹⁴coemel- sprs. yc μ_A ;
coem- also μV ; chaenlib F choindlib μV M caindlib B.

24. ¹This and the next quatrain written by ²M: cethri L ceitri F μ_A BM
ceithri μV ³taisig FM toisigh μV toisigh μ_A taisigh B ⁴doibh μ_A B
⁵diss $\mu V \mu_A$ dhis B ⁶ac riachtain F arrochtain B ac tiachtain M ⁷ar FB
do $\mu V \mu_A$ ⁸Libhis B ⁹Eloit μV Ellot μ_A Alloth BM ¹⁰Lámind L Lamfind
 μV Laimfind BM ¹¹tar FBM da μ_A ¹²lear BM ¹³Cingis L
¹⁴bratair F μV ¹⁵Cacher L Caicer hic et semper F Caichear B Caithear M.

25. ¹Caicher fuair ²leiges ³dōib ⁴thall
ar ⁵medrad ⁶na ⁷murdūchand :
⁸is ē ⁹loiges ¹⁰fuair ¹¹Caicher ¹²cain,
cēir ¹³do ¹⁴legad na ¹⁵clūasaib. 435

26. ¹Fuaradar ²tobar is tir
³ac rind ⁴Rifi ⁵eo ro-brīg
⁶eo mblas fina air lar ⁷soin—
trēn ⁸rosfarraig ⁹iad a n-¹⁰itoid. 440

27. Do ¹cholladar ²eo trēn, trēn,
³co ⁴scenn trī ⁵lāithe ⁶cen lēn,
⁷cor dūisig ⁸Caicher, draū dil
⁹eo ¹⁰denm(n)edach na ¹¹deig-fir. 445

28. ¹Is ē ²Caicher, ³comol ⁴nglē,
⁵dorigne dōib ⁶fāistine,
⁷ie ⁸Slēibtib ⁹Rife ¹⁰co rind :
¹¹Ní fuil ¹²foss ¹³dūind ¹⁴eo ¹⁵Hērind. 450

29. ¹“Cia hairm ²fil ³ind ⁴Hēriu ard?”
ar ⁵Lāimfind, in läech län-⁶garg.
⁷“Is ⁸fata” ⁹asbert ¹⁰Caicher ¹¹and,
¹²ni ¹³sinn ¹⁴rie, acht är ¹⁵cōem-chland.”

25. ¹Cacher L -ear B ²leiges L leg; F legnis μV leigis μA leighis B
leigeas M ³dōib B ⁴ann F tall μVμA and B ⁵ins. na L: medradh
μVμA meadradh B meadradh M ⁶don L ⁷chann μVμA M -cann B
⁸dob e FB rob e M is ed ro raidh Caicher μVμA ⁹leges L leig; F leighis
B leigis M ¹⁰om. fuair FBM ¹¹Cacher L Caichir B Caitir M
¹²choin B ¹³da M ¹⁴a small dot without meaning over the g F:
legadh μA leagadh B leaghadh M ¹⁵gluasaib B cluassaib M.

26. ¹This and the next quatrain om. LFμVμA. They have been added
in F, lower marg., but are now with difficulty legible. ²tobur B ³ag B
⁴Rife F ⁵gu roibrigh B eo roibrig M ⁶gum blas B fina M ⁷sin B
⁸do foir iad ar itaid F d'foir iad ar itoigh B ⁹om. iad M ¹⁰itaig M.

27. ¹-dur B ²gu B ³ceand M ⁴laa F laithi M ⁵gan B
⁶gor duisigh B dusach M ⁷Caichir B Caithear M ⁸gu B
⁹deinmidach B denmnedech M ¹⁰deagfir F dheighfir B deigfir M.

25. Caicher found a remedy for them yonder
for the melody of the Sirens:
this is the remedy that fair Caicher found,
to melt wax in their ears.

26. They found a spring and a land
at the Rhipaeon headland with great might,
having the taste of wine thereafter:
their thirst overcame them mightily.

27. Soundly, soundly they slept
to the end of three days without sorrow,
till Caicher the faithful druid wakened
the noble men impatiently.

28. It is Caicher, (a brilliant fulfilment!)
who made a prophecy to them,
at the Rhipaeon Mountains with a headland—
“We have no rest until Ireland.”

29. “In what place is lofty Ireland?”
said Lamfhind the violent warrior.
“Very far” said Caicher then,
“it is not we who reach it, but our fair children.”

28. ¹There is an appearance as though this quatrain had been inserted
prima manus in a gap left for it, L: isse μV ²Cacher L Caithear M
³comall FB comul μVμA co seem M ⁴gle L ⁵dorigne L dorindi F
dorinde B dorindi M ⁶fastine LB faisstine μV ⁷hic μV ag B ac M
⁸gleibte L sleibib μV sleibib μA sleibhtibh B ⁹Rifi LFM Rippi μVμA
¹⁰con rind L gu rind B ¹¹ni fil L ni fuil B himeolus doib μVμA ¹²fos BM
¹³dún L fuind B ¹⁴gu B co F ¹⁵Er- F Heirinn μVμA Hern B.

29. ¹cait i foil (fuil B) FB cia hairm fuil in n-Eriu ard μVμA B cait a
fuil M ²ins. i L ³in F in n- B an M ⁴Er- F Eriu B Eri M
⁵Lāimfind L Lamfind μV Lamfind μA Laimhfind B ⁶gharg B gar M
⁷is and adbert (the last word ditlographed) M ⁸fota μVμA fada FB
⁹adbert F atbert μVμA B ¹⁰same variants as before, Caichear B
Caithear M ¹¹ann FμA M ¹²sind LμA BM sib F ¹³raich F roich B
ricfa M ¹⁴mór-chland L caemchlainn F caem-clann μA caem-land μVB
caem chland M.

30. ¹Cingeset ²inna ³ealh ⁴eo fi,
⁵fodess ⁶sech rendaib ⁷Riphi;
⁸clanda ⁹Gäedil, ¹⁰eo nglaine,
¹¹ro gabsat na ¹²Gaethlaige. 455

31. ¹Genair ²mac ³sirdaire ⁴andsain
⁵do ⁶Läimfind ⁷mac Agnomain :
⁸Éber ⁹Glünsfind, glan ¹⁰in grib,
¹¹sen-athair ¹²foltchas ¹³Febrig. 460

32. ¹Fine ²Gäedil ³gasta ⁴gil
⁵trí ⁶chét bliadan ⁷is tár sin;
⁸trebsat ⁹and ¹⁰sin ¹¹anach
¹¹no ¹²eo ¹³táinie ¹⁴Bráth ¹⁵búadach. 465

33. Bráth ¹deg-mac ²Déätha dil
³táinie do ⁴Créit, ⁵do ⁶Shieil,
⁷Lucht ⁸cethri long ⁹seolta ¹⁰slain,
¹¹desel n-Eorpa ¹²eo ¹³Hespain. 470

34. ¹Oece oucus ²Ueee ³een ⁴ail,
⁵dá mac ⁶Elloith meie ⁷Noenil;
⁸Mantan ⁹mac ¹⁰Cachir, ¹¹Bráth dil,
¹²ba ¹³siat ¹⁴na ¹⁵cethri tóesig.

30. ¹einsid F cindsit μV cinnsit μ_A cindsead BM ²na FBM ina $\mu V \mu_A$
³catha FBM ⁴gu B ⁵bodes F bodheas B fodeas M ⁶sech rinne L
⁷seoch rannaib F seach B co slebib μV eo sleibibh μ_A seach reandaibh B
⁸seach reandaib M ⁹Rifi (the fi ye) F: Rifi also LBM Riphí $\mu V \mu_A$
¹⁰clanna $\mu \mu_A$ clá μ_A ¹¹Gaidil $\mu V \mu_A$ Gaeidil M ¹²gu ngleoine B go
¹³ngleoine M ¹⁴do gabsad F congabsat $\mu V \mu_A$ roghabsat B roghabsad M
¹⁵(gabsat O'Curry, wrongly) ¹⁶-laigi F -laighe $\mu V \mu_A$ -loighe B -laigi M.

31. ¹genir FM geinir B ²gein F gen $\mu V \mu_A$ ³irdraic F aurdaic μV
⁴n-irdaire μ_A orrdaic B oirdric M ⁵andsin $\mu V M$ annsin $\mu V \mu_A$ B ⁶ie F
⁷ae M ⁸Lámind L Lamfind F μ_A Lamfind $\mu V B$ Lamfind M ⁹in laech
¹⁰laidir FM (der M) ¹¹Ebir μV ¹²Glünfind B Glunfind M ¹³a brig $\mu V \mu_A$
¹⁴in gribh B ¹⁵seanathair B ¹⁶-chass μ_A foltheas B ¹⁷Feibhrig B
¹⁸Febrig M.

32. ¹fini L badar fine Gaeidil gil (the last word sprs. prima manu) M
²Gadil F Gaidil $\mu V \mu_A$ Gaedil B ³garta $\mu V \mu_A$ ⁴glain L għil B
⁵cet M ⁶forsin L as μV ⁷ins. ro L: threbsat L trebsat F trebsad B

30. They advanced in their battalion with venom,
 southward past the Rhipacan headlands;
 the progeny of Gaedel, with purity,
 they landed at the Marshes.

31. A glorious son was born there
 to Lamfhind son of Agnomain;
 Eber Glunfhind, pure the gryphon,
 the curl-haired grandfather of Febrig.

32. The family of Gaedel, the brisk and white,
 were three hundred years in that land;
 they dwelt there thenceforward,
 until Brath the victorious came.

33. Brath, the noble son of faithful Déäth
 came to Crete, to Sieily,
 the crew of four ships of a safe sailing,
 right-hand to Europe, on to Spain.

34. Oece and Ueee without blemish,
 the two sons of Allot son of Nenual;
 Mantan son of Caicher, faithful Brath,
 they were the four leaders.

trebrsad M ¹in tir $\mu V \mu_A$ ann FM hin F ²sein L sain μ_A ¹⁰immach
³L mā μV ¹¹no changed sec. man. to na L ¹²go B ¹³riead F tanic
¹⁴L $\mu V \mu_A$ tainig B torain M ¹⁵Brat F ¹⁶bidnach F buidhneach B
¹⁷brethach M.

33. ¹ba mac $\mu V \mu_A$: deag- B ²Deaatha B ³tanic L $\mu V \mu_A$ M
⁴tainig B ⁵Creid FM Chreit μV Chreid BM ⁶ins. is F 's B ⁷Thigir F
⁸Sicil $\mu V \mu_A$ Shigir B ⁹ceitri F cheathra B cethre M ¹⁰sain dar sail $\mu V \mu_A$
¹¹slán B'R' ¹²desil Eorpa F laim (-mh μ_A) Heoroip $\mu V \mu_A$ deisil Eorpa B
¹³desil Eorpa M ¹⁴gu B ¹⁵Espā F hEasp. BM.

34. ¹Oige B Oici M ²Uicci F Uige B Uici M ³car FM gan B
⁴oil M ⁵Elloth F Alldoit $\mu V \mu_A$ Alloit B Alloit M ⁶Naennel F
⁷Noenail $\mu V \mu_A$ Nainil B Noindil M ⁸Mantan L Mandtan B ⁹is FM
¹⁰Cacher L Caicer F Caicher $\mu V \mu_A$ Caichir B Caither M ¹¹bláith bil FM
¹²Brath bil $\mu V B$ bláith bil μ_A ¹³fa M ¹⁴hiad FBM hiat $\mu V \mu_A$
¹⁵a $\mu V \mu_A$ BM ¹⁶ceitri taisig F ceith (sic) toisich μV ceitri toisigh μ_A
¹⁷ceithri taisich M taisigh B.

35. ¹Cethri fir ²dēe ³conā ⁴mnāib
⁵ba lucht ⁶do ⁷each luing ⁸læch-lāin,
⁹œus ¹⁰seiseor ¹⁰amos ¹¹ān;
¹²strōimset trī ¹³catha ¹⁴in ¹⁵Hespāin. 475

36. ¹Ard in cēt-²chath—³nocho ⁴chēl-
⁵ro strōimset ⁶for ⁷slñāig ⁸Teisēn;
⁹cath ¹⁰for ¹⁰Bachro ¹¹eo n-garga,
¹²œus cath ¹³for ¹⁴Langobarda. 480

37. ¹Ba dar ēis in ²chatha ³elē
⁴tānic ⁵dōib tām ⁶ōen-lāithe:
lucht long mae ⁷nElloith ⁸een ⁹chron
¹⁰marba ¹¹uile acht ¹²dechenbor. 485

38. ¹Driachitatar ²ass Ún is Ēn,
dā ³deg-mac na ⁴tōesech trēn:
⁵iarsin ⁶ro ⁷genir ⁸Bregon,
athair ⁹Bili in ¹⁰baile-dremón. 490

39. ¹Ro briss mōr ²comlond is ³cath
⁴for ⁵slñāig ⁶nEspāin ⁷il-dathach:
⁸Bregon na ⁹nglōr gal, na nglia
¹⁰leis ¹¹dorōnad ¹²Brigantia.

35. ¹ceitri F_μV_μ_λB ceithri M ²deg FB ³cono F ⁴mnāib B
⁵fa M ⁶in F da B ⁷guch μVB ⁸laech bain B laech nair M
⁹seisir F saeramus ba saim μV_μ_λ (saimh _μ_λ) seisir B seir M ¹⁰ama; F
amhos B amus M ¹¹ain M ¹²roinset (but strainset in O'Curry's
transcript) L strainsit F raensat μV_μ_λ strainsid B strainead M ¹³cata F
¹⁴an FB ind μV_μ_λ ¹⁵Esp. F_μV_μ_λM Easp. B.

36. ¹ard-chath in et cath ni cel (chel μV) μV_μ_λ ²cath FB ³noeo LF
⁴cel F cel B ⁵ro roinset L do strainsit F om. ro; soiset μV soisit μA
dosraisid B doradsad M ⁶ar FBM ⁷sluag LF_μB sluagu μV_μ_λ
⁸Tocssén L Saisel F Tosén μV Tósen μ_λ Tossen B ⁹ar F ¹⁰Barco L
Barcro F Bachru μV_μ_λ Bacco B Baero M ¹¹ba gor gō L ba targ
gail μV_μ_λ gu narga B fa garga M ¹²ditto graphed B ¹³ar F
¹⁴Longbardo L Longbardaib μV_μ_λ Longbarrda B.

37. ¹badar deis FBM batar deis μV_μ_λ ²catha F_μ_λ ³chle μV om. B
⁴tanic L_μV_μ_λM taing B (but dots inserted sec. man. above the first and
third minims in an attempt to make it tainig) ⁵doibh B ⁶aenlaithic
(sic) F enlaithe μV_μ_λB tamh enlaithe B ⁷om. n- B; Alloth F nAlloit
μV_μ_λ Alloit B Alloid M ⁸can FM gan B ⁹ón F_μV_μ_λBM ¹⁰ba marb

35. Fourteen men with their wives
made the crew for every ship full of warriors,
and six noble hirelings;
they won three battles in Spain.

36. Lofty the first battle—I shall not conceal it—
which they won against the host of the Tuscans;
a battle against the Bachra with violence,
and a battle against the Langobardi.

37. It was after the sinister battle
that there came to them a plague of one day:
the people of the ships of the sons of Allot without
fault
were all dead except ten persons.

38. Un and En came out of it,
two noble sons of the strong chieftains:
thereafter was Bregon born,
father of Bile the strong and raging.

39. He broke a great number of fights and battles
against the many-coloured host of Spain:
Bregon of the shouts of valorous deeds, of the combats,
by him was built Brigantia.

F batar mairb μV_μ_λ ba marbh B fa marbh M ¹¹uli F om. μV_μ_λ
¹²dechinmbar F x. neb- μV_μ_λ deichneabhar B oen ochtar M.

38. ¹taneatar FM tangadar B taneadar M ²as FM om. μV_μ_λ

³dag. ⁴mac μV dagum the sprs. d (not the e) sec. man. μ_λ dheaghmac B
deaghmac M ⁵taisae F toisach μV_μ_λ taiseach B toiseach M ⁶iarsain L
(reinked to iarsam), μV iarsin l⁷airsin B ⁸do F ⁹genair L_μV_μ_λM
geinir B ¹⁰Bregoin L Breogan FM Breoghan μV Breogon μ_λB
Breogann M ¹¹Bile μV_μ_λBM ¹²baile-dremoin L baile-remar F
-remar FM baile-dremoin μV_μ_λ (dreoman μ_λ) -dremain B baile-
remar M.

39. ¹do bris FB ro bris μV_μ_λM ²comlond F comlond μV comlann μ_λB
comlann M ³chath L ⁴ar M ⁵sluagh μV_μ_λB ⁶om. n- L nEsb. F
nEasp. (the a sbsc. sec. man.) B ⁷illadach LM n-illathach FB n-ilathach
μV_μ_λ ⁸Brogan F Brogoen μV Brogan μ_λ Breoghan B Breogo M
⁹ngleo is na nglia F nglorgal ba guia μV_μ_λ nglor is na nglia B ngnim is
na ngliaid M ¹⁰les μV_μ_λ ¹¹do rondadh B dorinded M ¹²Brigaindsia
F Briancia Brigana μ_λ Brigandsia, the g sprs. sec. man. B Briaindsia M.

40. ¹Bregon mac ²Brātha, ³bláith bil
is dō ⁴ro bo mae ⁵Mílid :
⁶secht meic ⁷Mílid, maith ⁸a slög
⁹im ¹⁰Éber, im ¹¹Éremón. 495

41. ¹Fa ²Dond, fa ³Ailiaeh ⁴eo n-āg
⁵im ⁶Ir, is ⁷fa ⁸Arannān,
⁹im ¹⁰Amairgin ¹¹eo ngnē ngil,
œus fa ¹²Colpta in ¹³claidim. 500

42. Deich mae ¹Bregoin ²een ³meirbe
⁴Brego, ⁵Fuat, is ⁶Murthemne,
⁷Cūailgne, Cuala ⁸blad ⁹eabae,
¹⁰Ébleo, ¹¹Nar Ith, is Bile. 505

43. ¹Ith mae ²Bregein ³eo ⁴mblaid ⁵mbind
⁶tāinic ar ⁷tūs ⁸in ⁹Hērind :
¹⁰is ē ¹¹fer ¹²toesech ¹³rostreb,
do ¹⁴sil ¹⁵noesech nert-¹⁶Gādel. 510

40. ¹Bregoin L Bili FM Bile $\mu V \mu_A$ Bil B ²Brogain F Bregoind μV
Brogaind μ_A Breoghan B Breogain M ³blad FM ⁴do F roh mace μV
⁵Milidh B Milig M ⁶ocht $\mu V \mu_A R^2$ (mec μ_A) ⁷Miled L Miledh
 $\mu V \mu_A$ Milidh B Milead M ⁸in FBM (slogh B) ⁹fa F ¹⁰Eimir B
Emer M ¹¹Herimon L Erimon F Erimon $\mu V \mu_A$ Erimon B Ereamon M.
41. ¹This quatrain om. L $\mu V \mu_A$ ²Dhond B ³Oilleach B Aireach M
⁴connadh B cen chrad M ⁵fa BM ⁶Hir BMH ⁷am F
⁸Arannan F Arandan B: undan fa and nge ngil ins. in rasura B ⁹fa BM
¹⁰Amargin F Aimeirgin B Aimargin M ¹¹gu B ¹²Colbtha B
Cholpa M ¹³chloidimh B.
42. ¹Brogain F Breogain μVBM Breogain μ_A ²can F gan B
³meirbi F merbe $\mu V \mu_A$ meirbhi B merbi M ⁴Brega F Eibliu $\mu V \mu_A$

XIV.

R² || 133 (V 2 δ 37 : E 2 β 13 R 76 B α 10 [first quatrain only] : D 4 γ 8). R³ || 156 (B 11 β 19 : M 270 γ 1).

1. ¹Doluid ²Milid ³as in ⁴Seithia,
⁵scēl for a ⁶fachat hāird ⁷blas,
iar ngnin ⁸Refeloir meic ⁹Nēmāin,
¹⁰con a fogha, nīr glē-bān ¹¹glas.

1. ¹dh E ²dh EB Milig M ³assin V isin RB asa M ⁴Seithia BM
⁵scēl B ⁶bhagbaid E fachat (a curved stroke over the f) D faghait B
fagaid M ⁷blass V ⁸Refeloir V Reuelair DE Reflair RB Reflair M

40. Bregon son of Brath, gentle and good,
he had a son, Mil :
the seven sons of Mil—good their host—
including Eber and Eremon.

41. Along with Dond, and Airech with battle,
including Ir, along with Arannan,
including Amorgen with bright countenance,
and along with Colptha of the sword.

42. The ten sons of Bregon without falsehood,
Brega, Fuat, and Murthemne,
Cualgne, Cuala, fame though it were,
Ebleo, Nar, Ith, and Bile.

43. Ith son of Bregon with tuneful fame
eaine at the first into Ireland :
he is the first of men who inhabited it,
of the noble seed of the powerful Gaedil.

Breogo B Breogu M ¹Fuad F Fuai, corrected sec. man. to Fuad B
²Murtemu μV Murtemni μ_A Muirteimne B ³Cuala Cuailngie (sic) F
Cuailnge Cuala $\mu V \mu_A$ Cuala Cuailgne R⁴ ⁵bladh $\mu V \mu_A$ ⁶cebe FR²
⁷Ehla F Ehleō L μ_A Eibleo M ⁸iar F Ith Nár $\mu V \mu_A$.
43. ¹Hith $\mu V \mu_A M$ ²Brogan F Breogain μVBM Breogain μ_A
³om. F gu B ⁴blad F mblaidh $\mu_A B$ mbloid M ⁵om. m- LF
⁶tanic L $\mu V \mu_A M$ thainig B ⁷dus B ⁸an $\mu V B$ ⁹Erind
 $\mu V \mu_A M$ Erinn B ¹⁰isse μ_A ¹¹f F fear R² ¹²toisach F toisach
 $\mu V \mu_A$ toisach R² ¹³do treb F ro treab B nar threab M ¹⁴til F
sil $\mu V \mu_A$ ¹⁵noisach F noisech μVM noiseach μ_A noisach B ¹⁶Gaedil F
Goedhel μV Gaidel μ_A neart-Gaidheal B Gaedhil M.

XIV.

1. Mil came out of Scythia,
a tale upon which bards leave a savour,
after the death-wound of Reflair son of Noemius
with his javelin, it was no bright white fetter.

²ins. nair: Neman D ¹⁰con a fogha D cona fogha E a fogha B
a faga M fogha and om. nīr V om. nīr also RD ¹¹glass VD as BM.

2. ¹Ceithri barea ²līn a ³theglaig;
⁴lotar ⁵tar ⁶muir co ⁷mēd ⁸clann,
⁹cōic ¹⁰lānamna ¹¹dēe ¹²is amus
¹³in gach baire ¹⁴ro tagas ¹⁵tall. 515

3. ¹Tarrastair trī ²mīs ³sin ⁴indsi
⁵ie ⁶Deprofaine na port:
trī ⁷mīs ⁸aile, ⁹ed ¹⁰cen ¹¹gairdi,
¹²ac imrum ¹³tar ¹⁴fairrge ¹⁵folt. 520

4. ¹Iar sin ²rāncadar tīr ³nĒgypt,
co ⁴hairecht ⁵Foraind na ⁶fian:
⁷atnagar ⁸Scota do ⁹Milig
¹⁰ie an abaind tīrig ¹¹thiar. 525

5. ¹Gabsat dā ²fer dēc ³dīn ⁴dreim-sín
dāna ⁵d'foglaim for a ⁶cuairt:
⁷Sedga, ⁸Sobairei, ⁹is ¹⁰Suirgi
¹¹re ¹²sāirsí, ¹³cen ¹⁴duilgi nduaire. 530

6. Druidecht ¹la ²Mantan, la Caicher,
la Fulman ³n-indtliuchtach n-oll;
⁴bretemnus las in ⁵ingen ⁶nglūngel,
⁷la ⁸Goseen ⁹ndūir-mer, ¹⁰la Dann.

2. ¹ceitri VEB cetri D ²lion E ³teglaig VEM theaglaigh B
⁴lodar BM ⁵dar VE ar M ⁶in muir and om. co VED ⁷met V
mbeid B ⁸cland E ⁹coig E ¹⁰lanomna VB ¹¹dec V
¹²is in rasura: amhos B ¹³is é lin M ¹⁴do taghas B ro thagas M
¹⁵thall VM.

3. ¹tarrasair D ansad BM ²miss V misa B ³san DB is an M
⁴innsi DE ⁵hic VE ag B ac M ⁶Deprofane VD: here and in line
541 below sV wrote Depfane, and the cross-curve changing p to pro was
added sec. man. Deprofaine E Tibrad Faine B Tibrad Fane M ⁷miss V
⁸eli D ele B ⁹ead VM eadh EB ed D ¹⁰can E con B ¹¹sic V
ghairgi E chairde D gairbi BM ¹²hic imrum V ie imr. D ie iomram E
imreid B lodar for M ¹³for B ¹⁴fairgi V fairrge DBM ¹⁵ins. na BM.

2. Four ships were the tally of his household;
they came over sea with a multitude of progeny;
fifteen wedded couples and a hireling
in every ship which pressed forward yonder.

3. They stayed three months in the island
at Taprobane of the harbours:
three other months, a season without joyfulness
voyaging over the sea of foam-crests.

4. After that they reached the land of Egypt,
to the court of Pharao of the warriors:
Seota is given to Mil
at the land-river in the west.

5. Twelve men of that company undertook
to learn arts during their sojourn:
Setga, Sobairehe, and Suirge,
in craftsmanship, without sad difficulty.

6. Druidry by Mantan, by Caicher,
by Fulman sagacious and great,
law-craft by the white-kneed one,
by Goseen hard and active, by Dond.

4. ¹ar M ²rangadar EB -tar DV ³nEigept V nEghept E nEighipt B
nEgupt M ⁴hoireacht BM (-recht B) ⁵Foruinn D Forainn B
⁶bfian E fiann B ⁷adnagharr VE atadhgor B atnadar M ⁸Seota D
⁹Milidh B ¹⁰ic ond abaind tirigh V hic on abuinn tirig D ic in abainn
tirig E do chosnam in tiri B do chosnom in tiri M ¹¹siar B

5. ¹gabsad E ²om. fer VD ³don E ⁴drem D ⁵dfogluim D
⁶geualrt E ⁷Sedgha V ⁸-ce V -chi D ⁹for is VD ¹⁰-ge VD
¹¹ra E ¹²suirsí E -se V ¹³gan ED ¹⁴duilge V.

6. ¹ri E le D ²Manntan E ³nintlichtach V ninnlechtach E
⁴breithemnus E brithemnus D ⁵ngain ED ⁶nglungeal E nglungeal D
⁷ro V re E le D ⁸Goisgen E Golscen D ⁹ndurmer V duirmher E
¹⁰ri V sre E le D.

The following is the version of the two foregoing quatrains in R³ :—

5A. 'Gabhsat da ²fear deg da foghaim
in gach ceird suthain,³ ba suaire,
⁴Sedgha, Sobhairce ⁵ 'Suirghe
re ⁶sairse, gan duilge⁵ nduaire. 527A

6A. ⁷Draidheacht la ⁸Mantan 's la Caithear⁹
la Fulman, lasin ¹⁰neagal ngart,
¹¹rigdacht sead ¹²ba duthaigh do Dhond,¹³
slicht oll, ¹⁴breithumhnacht. 530A

7. ¹Trī rīg na ²lāechraide ³lūaidim
ro ⁴leth a ⁵ngnai ⁶sund ⁷eo sāl,
⁸fri ⁹fogluim, ¹⁰gaiseid ¹¹ro-druiti
¹²Milid, ¹³Oicei, Uici ¹⁴ān. 535

8. ¹Lotar ²ass ³i ⁴cinn ⁵oehet mbliaidan;
⁶ar a ⁷ceūlu in ⁸conair ⁹chōir:
¹⁰ansat ¹¹miss ¹²ic ¹³Deprofaine,
¹⁴oid ed ¹⁵nīr bo ¹⁶bāire ¹⁷brōin. 540

9. ¹Rāiset ²sech ³rind ⁴Slēibe ⁵Rifi:
⁶ro rēesat ⁷a ⁸dtir ar ⁹thuind;
bliadaid ¹⁰dōib-sa ¹¹lām ¹²re ¹³Tracia,
¹⁴congabsat ¹⁵i nDacia ¹⁶duind. 545

5A. *Variants* from M. ¹gabsad ²⁻³fer dec dib foghaim an each
cerd suthain ⁴Segda Sobairei ⁵Surgi ⁶⁻⁸sairse cen dulgi.

6A. ¹druideacht ²⁻³Mantan la Caither ⁴ngel ⁵om. rigdacht B
⁵⁻⁶fa duthaid do Dond ⁷breitheamnocht.

7. ¹tri ri E tuiream BM ²laochraide E laechroidhi B laechraidi M
³lusidhim E ⁴leath BM ⁵ngnai E ngnoi D gnnae M ⁶sunn DM
⁷ar E gu B tar M ⁸fria B ⁹foghaim VEBM ¹⁰gaisgid ED
gniseidh B ¹¹rodruide E rodruitti (spelt d'ruitti) D fri gnimrad R³
(-adh B) ¹²Milid M ¹³Oicei Uicei D Oige Uige B
¹⁴ain E.

8. ¹dolodar B lodar M ²as EDM om. B ³a EB hi D ⁴geinn E

5A. Twelve men undertook to learn
in every enduring craft, it was pleasant,
Setga, Sobairche, and Suirge,
in craftsmanship, without sad difficulty.

6A. Druidry by Mantan and by Caicher
by Fulman with the white hospitality:
Kingship it is that was native to Dond,
the lineage of great ones, and law-craft.

7. I mention three kings of the hero-band,
their faces were familiar there to the sea :
great druids in learning and valour,
Mil, Occe, noble Uece.

8. They went out in the end of eight years;
backward was the true path;
they spent a month in Taprobane,
although it was no goal of sorrow.

9. They steered past the headland of the Rhipaean
Mountain;
they fared to land upon the wave;
they had a year close by Thracia,
till they landed in brown Dacia.

cind DR³ ¹oehet yc in rasura E: .uii. D ²ar do chuala ba (fa M)
hi in choir R³ ¹geul E ³chon- V ⁴coir E ¹⁰ansad ER²
¹¹mis EDR³ ¹²hie R² ag B a M ¹³Deprofane VD (see note to line
520 above) Dibraidih Faine B Tibraid Fane M ¹⁴cidh edh V cidh eadh E
gidheadh B gerbead M ¹⁵nirbo yc E: on nir R² ¹⁶bairi M ¹⁷mbruin E.

9. ¹raisit V rased E -eit D reithsidi B risead M ²seach R³ ³rinn E
⁴Slebi D tSlebi E Sleibhi B Slebe M ⁵Riphe E Rife R³ ⁶ro recssat E
do reatsad B do rersad M ⁷o B ⁸tir VDM thir B ⁹tuinn DE
(one minim omitted E, making tvii) tuind R² ¹⁰doibh-sa B doibacon M
¹¹lamh E laim R² ¹²ra E ri DB ¹³Tvia E Traigia R³ ¹⁴congabsad E
congabsaft D imreid B imridis M ¹⁵an Dacia ED isin naigia B
anaicia M ¹⁶duinn ED nduind R².

10. ¹Ansat ²mís ³an Dacia ⁴dathaig,
⁵lotar ⁶ass ⁷in Gothiam ngluair,
⁸i mBelgont, ⁹i mBregaint ¹⁰bruinig,
¹¹isin Espāin ¹²n-uillig n-uair. 550

11. ¹Ceithri ²catha ³dēc ⁴'s dā ⁵fichit
ro ⁶fersat ⁷ind ⁸læchrad lōr,
im ⁹chert ¹⁰nEspāine ¹¹dārīrib—
¹²mebdatar ¹³rja ¹⁴Milic mōr.

12. Dē ¹atā ²Milic ³Espāine ⁴airseom—
do na ⁵cathaib ⁶sin ro ⁷bris;
⁸Golam a ainm, ⁹data ¹⁰dīles,
¹¹mo ¹²phopa, ¹³een ¹⁴dimes nūiss. 555

13. ¹Dosfāinie ²tām ³i n-a ⁴theglach,
⁵cōile lānamna dēc ⁶dē ⁷atbath,
⁸im na trī ⁹rīgaib ¹⁰ro ráidiūs,
¹¹i dāil nar ¹²chāinius ¹³i eath. 560

14. ¹Tāngadar meic ²Miled ³molaim
⁴eo Hērind a ⁵Hespāin ⁶uill,
⁷na longaib ⁸dar lār ⁹il-lacha,
¹⁰ima ¹¹eongaib ¹²eatha ¹³eruim. 565

10. ¹ansad EBM ²miss V ³in Daeia VD in naigia B an
Aicia M ⁴ndathaig E dathaidh B ndathaich M ⁵lodar R² ⁶as EDM
isin B an EM ⁷Gothim E Goithiam D nGoithiam B; gluair V ⁸in
delghain E indelgained VD in Bealdund B im Belgond M ⁹im Breogainn
E in Breagdunn B im Breogann M ¹⁰imbruind E mbruinigh DB
ndruinich M ¹¹issin V isan M Easpain R² ¹²nduillig nduair B:
nuillich M.

11. ¹ceitri VB cethri D ²cath E ³deg B ⁴is VR³ om. DE
⁵ficheat B ⁶fersat E fersat VD fearsad B ⁷in V an E
ind D im BM ⁸læchrad V laochraidi E laichrad D leacon R² ⁹cert E
ceart B cheart M ¹⁰nEspāine E Espāin B Espāine M ¹¹doririb VE
-ibh B ¹²mebdhatar V: da (ga B) cosnom (-am B) R² ¹³re E do R²
¹⁴Mile B.

12. ¹tā B ita B ²Milic B ³Espāne V Easpain B ⁴airsium V
airsem D airsin B airseon M ⁵aih B ⁶sen V ⁷briss B

10. They stayed a month in coloured Dacia,
they went out of it into bright Gothia,
into Belgaint, into Bregaint of large companies,
into cold Spain of the headlands.

11. Fourteen battles and two score
the ample hero-band waged,
in truth, about the right to Spain—
They broke before Mil the great.

12. Thence has he the name "Mil of Spain"—
from those battles which he broke;
Golam was his name, a faithful foster-father,
my master, without despicable contempt.

13. There came plague into his household,
fifteen wedded couples died of it,
including the three kings whom I have mentioned,
in an assembly which made no lament in battle.

14. The sons of Mil whom I praise came
to Ireland from great Spain:
in their ships over a plain of many sea-birds,
in which they maintained crooked battle.

⁶Galam R² Golumh B ⁷dada E ⁸dilis VE dileas BM ⁹am B
¹⁰popa V pupa E phapa D poha B foba M ¹¹gan EB gen D ¹²dimes
ndis VE dimeas ris B dimes dis M.

13. ¹-fanic VM ²fanuig D ³fainig B ⁴tamh E tamain a theaglach B
⁵inna D ⁶teglach VDM ⁷coic lanomna V coig E da lanomain
(-amain M) R² ⁸om. de M ⁹adpach EM ¹⁰um B ¹¹riguib D
riogaib E ¹²ro raidhus V ro raides E do raidheadh B ro raided M ¹³cain E
¹⁴hi dhail V riam nochor cainead B uair ni ro cained M ¹⁵hi D a B.

14. ¹-catar V ²gatar D ³Miledh V Milead M ⁴molaim D
⁵ind Eriinn VD an Eriinn E an Er- B ⁶Hesbain E Heaspain BM
⁷huill D ⁸hi longaib VE na hillongaib D a longa B ⁹tar E
gu B eo M ¹⁰ind lacha V ¹¹ana E in D ¹²bh B
¹³chatha VDB ¹⁴chruid B cruid M.

15. ¹Cōic ²lānamna ³cethair ⁴deg-dēich
⁵tusat ⁶leo, ⁷do muintir mōir :
⁸cethrar ⁹amus ¹⁰mar dom mādit
¹¹dōib for scāil a ¹²Hespāin ¹³ōig. 570

16. Īar sin ¹gabsat ²Inber ³Scēne
Dīa Māirt, for ⁴cert-⁵challainn ⁶Mai :
⁷ō sin ⁸amach, ⁹fa ¹⁰derb ¹¹linne,
¹²ro ¹³dergsat ¹⁴rindi ar gach ¹⁵rai.

17. ¹Rē cind bliadna ²randsat ³Erind 575
⁴in dib ⁵randaib dēc, ⁶derb ⁷lem,
im ⁸Ēremōn is ⁹im ¹⁰Ēber
im ¹¹deichnebar ¹²trēnfer ¹³tend.

18. ¹Cōiceer ²gabsadar im ³Ēber
⁴i l-leith ⁵ndescertach ⁶hi tind,
⁷da ⁸Etan, ⁹is ¹⁰Mantan ¹¹mōr-glan,
¹²Caicher oēus Fulman ¹³find. 580

19. ¹Cōiceer im ²Ēremōn ³n-ūasal
⁴gabsat ⁵im ⁶tūaiscert ⁷atbēr,
⁸Aimirgen, ⁹Sobairci, ¹⁰Segda,
¹¹Gosten, ¹²Suirgí, ¹³tetra ¹⁴trēn. 585

15. ¹coig EB ²lanomhna B ³ins. a M : ⁴iii. V eeitri E ceathair BM
⁵deghdeich E dec (om. deich : deg B) BM ⁶tugsad E tugsat DB ⁷lōe V
⁸don muindtr mhoir B ⁹cetrar V ceatrar B ceathrar M ¹⁰amhus EB
¹¹ba sid fri sgail VD ba fīh friscail E mardommaidh doib B marda
maidit M ¹²ind Erinn V an Eir- E in Herinn D ro scailit M (doib
transferred to preceding line B om. M) ¹³Hesbain E ¹⁴oigh EB.

16. ¹gabsad ER² ²inbiur D indber M inbhearr B ³Scēne E
Seaini B ⁴VD ceirt E ceart B ⁵nd M ⁶Maoi E Mai D
⁷o sain V o sain D ⁸immaeh V ⁹ba R² co B ¹⁰dearbh B
¹¹linde E demin R² ¹²do R³ ¹³dergsad EB deresat M ¹⁴rinne ED
¹⁵rind Femin (Feimin B) fai R³ ¹⁶raci E, ro changed see. man. to rai D.

17. ¹ria VD a B i M ²rannsat VD rannsad E roindsid B randsad M
³Eirinn E, H- D ⁴a ndibh EB ⁵rannai VB randaibh deg E
rendaib M ⁶dearb B ⁷team VB ⁸Erimon VB
rannuib D rendaib M ⁹um B am M ¹⁰Eimher E ¹¹dechniubur V
Eoiremon E

15. Four good tens and five of wedded couples
they brought with them, of the great company :
four hirelings, as they assert to me,
they had, in parting from virgin Spain.

16. After that they landed in Inber Seene
a Tuesday, on the exact Kalends of May :
from that out, we may be certain
they reddened points on every plain.

17. Before the end of a year they partitioned Ireland
into twelve parts, I hold it for certain,
between Eremon, Eber
and ten strong champions.

18. Five men including Eber landed
in the southern half in strife :
two Etans, and Mantan great and pure,
Caicher and white Fulman.

19. Five men including noble Eremon
landed around the north, I shall say it,
Amorgen, Sobairche, Setga,
Goscen, Suirge, the strong raven.

deichneabhar E deichniubur D deithneabhar B ¹²-fer VM treinfer E
-fear B ¹³tean D teand B.

18. ¹cōiceir V coiger E coigear B ²gabsadar E gabsatar D rogabsat B
rogobsad M ³Eimer with no b written above the m E Emer M
⁴alleth V hi leith E allet D in leath R³ ⁵ndescertach B om. n- M
⁶hi tinn V a dind E nar thim B ad chind M ⁷sic R² En is R³
⁸Eadan EM Adam B ⁹om. R² ¹⁰Mandtan EB ¹¹murglan VEDM
¹²Caither B Caither M ¹³finn VE.

19. ¹cōiceur E coigear B ²Erimon VB Eiremon E ³om. n- ER³
⁴sad EM ⁵an E i B ⁶tuaseert VD ⁷adber EM ⁸Amargen V
Aimirgen EM Amairgein D Aimeirgein B ⁹Sobairche V Sobairci E
Sobairchi D Sogairce B Sobairci M ¹⁰Setga VD Sedghai E Sedga B
¹¹Goscen R² Goisten B Goisten M ¹²Suirge DB Surge EM ¹³Detla B
Dedla M ¹⁴deir B der M.

20. Rāith ¹Bethaig ²ac Eōir na ³n-alged
elas la ⁴Héremōn ⁵iar n-ōl,
Rāith ⁶Aindind ⁷re Héber ⁸mōrthar,
la ⁹Haimirgin ¹⁰Tōchar Mōr. 590

21. Dūn ¹Sobairei ²sund ³iar sāime
⁴la ⁵Sobairei ⁶tācb-geal ⁷tend;
⁸Delginis ⁹la ¹⁰Setga ¹¹iar ¹²suilgi;
¹³Dun ¹⁴Etair ¹⁵la ¹⁶Suirgi ¹⁷seng. 595

22. ¹Rāith ²Arda Sūird ³elas ⁴la Fulman,
Dūn ⁵mBindi ⁶la ⁷Caicher ⁸crōn,
Rāith ⁹Rigbaird ¹⁰la ¹¹Hetan ¹²n-eal,
¹³Dūn ¹⁴Cairich ¹⁵la ¹⁶Hetan ¹⁷n-ōg. 595

23. ¹Cumtach ²Nair ³iar ⁴Sleib ⁵Mis ⁶molaim,
⁷la ⁸Goisten, ⁹nir ¹⁰dodaing dō,
¹¹at iat ¹²sin ¹³a rātha ¹⁴rēlaim
¹⁵is a raind for ¹⁶Erind so. 600

24. ¹Milid ²assin ³Seithia ⁴scīathraig
⁵Hisin ⁶Dardain, nī ⁷delm ⁸ngō,
⁹Gabais ¹⁰Espāin ¹¹i l-leith ¹²lāithi
ro ¹³bo ¹⁴sed ¹⁵eo ndaithi do. 605

20. ¹Rath D Bethaich D Bealhaigh B Beothaid M ²ic VDB ag E
³noighed V naighed E noidedh D naidheadh B ⁴Hērimon VB Heiremon E
Hereaman M ⁵ar B ⁶Oind VD Cind E Aindinn B ⁷fl he-b- na
nogthor (*the dot before b inserted by re-inker*) V: fri also ED: Heiber E
Heimhear B ⁸na nogthor E na nogthor also in D ⁹Hamargen V
Haimirgen E Hamairin B ¹⁰tochur E tochor DB.

21. ¹Sobairce V -rgi D Sobaireche B ²sunn D ³iar saine VE
iar sealad B re selad M ⁴le R⁵ ⁶airgi V -airchi D -airche B
⁷taebgel V taobhgeal E toebgel D taebhgeal B ⁸tenn VD teand B
⁹Deilginis V Deleinis (the c sptrs.) E Deilinis B Delinis M ¹⁰lc B re M
¹¹Setgha B Sedga M ¹²om. E ¹³suirge E suilge BM ¹⁴Duin M
¹⁵Edair BM ¹⁶re M ¹⁷Suirge EDB Surge M ¹⁸seang B.

22. ¹rath EDB ²Airde E ³slas ED ⁴fri R⁵ le B ⁶Findi V
Binne E Binni D Minde B ⁷le B ⁸Caithir E Cacher D Cathear B
Caithir M ⁹mor R¹⁰ ¹¹Rigbair E -ghbh- B ¹²fri R¹³ re B

20. Raith Bethaig at the Eoir of the Guests,
dug by Eremon after drinking;
Raith Ainninn by Eber, be it magnified!
by Amorgen the Great Causeway.

21. Dun Sobairehe there after repose,
by Sobairehe the white-sided and strong;
Delginis by Setga after ease;
Dun Etair by slender Suirge.

22. Raith Arda Sūird dug by Fulman,
Dun Bindi by swarthy Caicher,
Raith Rigbaird by formidable Etan,
Dun Cairich by pure Etan.

23. The building of Nar west of Sliab Mis I celebrate
by Goseen, it was not difficult for him:
Those are their forts which I set forth,
and this is their divisions over Ireland.

24. Mil out of shield-like Seythia
upon Thursday, it is no sound of falsehoods,
took Spain in half a day—
it was a way with nimbleness for him.

¹¹ Headan R³ ¹²neccal E negal D neagal B neacal M ¹³ins. is R²
¹⁴ Croich R² Goirig B ¹⁵re VD ro E le B ¹⁶Etan VE Headan B
Hedan M ¹⁷om. n- R² ogh VE oc D nogh B.

23. ¹Cumtach *all MSS.* but cumhdach B ²nar yc E in rasura nard D
³ar VD a E ⁴Sleibh EB Sliab M ⁵Miss V ⁶molium D ⁷le B
⁸Goiscean VD Goisgen E Goisdin B ⁹nir bo nair do (dho B) R²
¹⁰dodhaing VEB doduing D ¹¹is iat V is iad E hisiat D ¹²sain EDB
¹³na rātha V arratha ED ¹⁴relim VDB relimum E relaim M ¹⁵sa
roind fa (ar B) Erind andso R² ¹⁶Herind ED.

24. ¹Milidh VB Milig M ²asin D sin B isa M ³Seithia R²
⁴sciathraig EB sciama M ⁵bisi D isa B isin M ⁶Dardan B
⁷deilm EB ⁸dho B ⁹gabuis ED ¹⁰Easp. B ¹¹hillett D
alleith B aleith M ¹²lathi E laithe B ¹³po ED robsad M ¹⁴sét
VEDM (set D) theist B ¹⁵condathi ED conaidthe B conaithi M.

XV.

Min ¶ 107 A (μΔ 26 α 43 : μR 91 δ 3). R³ ¶ 142 (B 10 β 2 : M 268 δ 31 : H 100 β 46).

1.	1Ceithri 2randa 3räiter 4dē for 5suidi na 6Gäedilge : Canōin, 7Gramadach, 8is Stair, œus Rīm eo n-a 9ro-bail.	610
2.	Is 1i 2in 3Chanōin, 4nī chelch, 5Senchus Mōr, 6Bretha Nemed— 7Nochsdérna 8duine dō— 9Āi 10Chermna 11Āi 12Chano.	
3.	Is 1i 2in 3Gramadach 4na nglond ⁴ na trī 5chāicait 6erāeb- ⁷ ogom, na 8rēmenna, 9rēim 10nena, 11is na 12duili 13deig- ¹³ feda.	615
4.	Is 1i 2in 3Stair, 3fa 4stiuir 5fessa, na 6fessa, na 7foirfessa, 8tāna, 9togla, 10tricha scēl, œus tri 11fichit 12foiscēl.	620
5.	Is 1i 2in Rīm 3nocho rādom, 4Bretha 5Cai 6can imarchor : 6is esbach a 7sechna 8so, 9enesta na 10eethri rando.	625

1. 1 Ceitri BH Cethri μR 2 ranna μΔμR renda M 3 raither B
raitear M rater H 4 dhe B 5 suithe μΔ suidin μR suidhe B saidhe M
6 Gaidhel μΔ Gaidilee μR Gaedheilge B Gaeidilge MH 7 gramat- μΔμR
gramidach M gramutach H 8 istair μΔ 9 Stair μR isdair BH is sdair M
9 rogail μR.

2. 1 hi μΔ 2 an μR 3 Canoin μΔμR 4 nir ceiledh μΔ ni celeb μR
ni cheilub BM ni cheilib H 5 Senchas B 6 breata B breatha M :
Nemeadh μΔ Neimiudh B Nemidh H 7 nochonasdernai μΔ nochasderna μR
nochodernna B nochosderna M 8 duide and om. do μΔμR duini H 9 Aei M
10 Caue μR Cearmna B Chearmna M 11 na Cermna μR: Oei M
12 Chanae μΔ Chana H.

3. 1 hi μΔM 2 an μRH 3 Gramatach μΔμR(a)MH 4-5 om. μR, na
nglonn μΔ H 6 choeate μΔ chaeicaid B chaicaid H 7 Craob μR
craebh B 8 ogam μΔM 9 rend μR reimenda BH remeanna M

XV.

1.	It is said that it has four divisions among scholars of Gaedelic : Canons, Grammar, and History, and Prosody with its great prosperity.
2.	This is Canons, I shall not conceal it, the Great Story, the Judgements of Nemed— no (mere) man made it for him— the Science of Cermna and the Science of Cano.
3.	This is Grammar of the achievements, the thrice fifty branching Oghams, the declensions, the row of the letter, and the books of a good wood.
4.	This is History, it was a rudder of knowledge, the sciences, the extra sciences, forays, captures, thirty sagas, and three-score subordinate sagas.
5.	This is Rhyme, of which we shall not speak, The Judgements of Cai without error; it is idle to shun these matters, seemly are the four parts.

1 rem μΔM 2 neana B 3 1 μR 4 duile μΔ 5 degfeda μΔ
dagfeda μR deighfeadha B deighfeada M.
4 an μRH 2 sdair μRMII 3 fo μΔμR 4 sdiuir μRH
5 messa μΔ mesa μR meassa B feasa M fesa H 6 feassa B feasa M
fessa H 7 forbresa μΔ forbessa μR foirfeasa (the first a sbs. sec.
man.) B foireasa M forfesa H 8 togla tana μR 9 tola B
10 trichaid H 11 fichid B ficed H 12 roger μΔμR fosecl BH.
5 an μR 2 nocho recob μΔ nochasrecab μR nochoradl omh (sic) B
nocha rādomh H 3 breatha BM 4 Cōi H 5 conimtheor μΔ conimtecar
μR conimtheagor B conimthegur H 6 is espa μΔ his easha μR is
easbach BM is esbach H 7 seach- MB 8 sona μR 9 enesda μR
enesta BM 10 cethra ranno μΔ cethra ranno μR ceatra B ceithri M
ceitri H.

(a) In μR the g dotted.

XVI.

Min ¶ 107 A (μΑ 26 β 14 : μR 91 δ 23). R³ ¶ 142 (B 10 β 18 : M 269 α 1).

1.	In bērla ¹ tebidi ² trie, ro ³ lesaig ⁴ Gädel ⁵ gian-glie, ⁶ ūathad do ⁷ shil ⁸ Gäedil ⁹ gairb duine ¹⁰ ea mbeith a ¹¹ fir-arium.	630
2.	¹¹ Gäidelg ¹² aderaid sin fris ¹³ lucht ¹⁴ aineōlais is ainbfs : ¹⁵ nī ¹⁶ nesa do ¹⁷ Gädel glie ¹⁸ inas do each ele oirrdric.	
3.	¹ Mad ail dam ² a ³ rād fri each ⁴ eo roib eo ⁵ follus in fāth, ⁶ at iat—re ⁷ ngarmann can ⁸ gai— ceithri ⁹ hanmann in ¹⁰ hērlai—	635
4.	¹¹ Tiecoladh ¹² a Heabra ard, is ¹³ "Moloth" a Grēig glē-garg, ¹⁴ "Legulus" a ¹⁵ Laidin le, ¹⁶ " ¹⁷ Tinōiltech" ¹⁸ ara fēine.	640
5.	Gebe ¹ bess for a n-iarair, etir dāesear is diamair, ² is iat sin ean time tra ³ anmann ⁴ binde ⁵ in bērla.	645

1. ¹tobaide μΑμR teibidhe B teibidi M ²trice μΑμR B ³lessaig μΑ leasaigh B ⁴Gäidel μΑ Goidel μR -dhel B ⁵glain glice μR glice also μΑ ⁶uathadh B huath- μR ⁷shil μR μΑ B ⁸Gäidil B ⁹ga μR B cambeth μΑ ¹⁰fir μR μA.

2. ¹Gaidile μR Gaidel get beratsam friss μΑ Gaedhelg B Gaeidile M ²aberassom μR aderaidsin B adearaidsin M ³in lucht aineolach ainbfs μΑμR (om. is ainbf. μR) ⁴in elolais san ainbfs B ⁵ni nesso do Gaidelge glice μΑ ⁶neassa B neasa M ⁷Gaidil μR Ghaedhelg B ⁸inda dogach ni is airdiree μΑ indas da eech ni as airdiree μR ana da each M inas do gach ealg urrdraic B.

XVI.

1.	The select vivacious language which Gaedel the pure and cunning improved, few of the seed of rough Gaedel are the men who may know its real name.
2.	"Gaedelg"—they call it so, people who are ignorant and have no knowledge : no nearer to cunning Gaedel than to any conspicuous notable.
3.	Were I to desire to say to everyone that the matter was evident, here are—with which they name it without falsehood— the four names of the language.
4.	"Tiecolath" in lofty Hebrew, "Moloth" in Greek bright and rough, "Legulus" therewith in Latin, "Tinoiltech" among its people.
5.	Whoever he be who should be seeking them, whether lowly or obscure, those, indeed, without fear are the tuneful names of the language.

3. ¹madh B ²a raga fria each B ³rād μR ⁴eo rab μΑ
eo rail μR gurabh gu B ⁵fallus μR ⁶atat sunn cer (een μR)
gnimradh ngle (ngae μR) ceathra hanmannia (ceithri anmae μR) μΑμR ati
iad B ⁷ngarmand gan B ⁸gae M ⁹hanmand B ¹⁰berlae μR.

4. ¹Tiecoloth (Tiecolad μR) a Ebra aird (ard μR), Maloth isin Grecc (a Grecc μR) gle gaing (garc μR) μΑμR Tiecoladh B ²Laitin μΑμR
³Tinoltach μΑ Tinoilteach B ⁴are fene μΑμR.

5. ¹bes μR ²is eol dam ean time tra μΑμR is eol dam gan time
tra B ³anmannia μR ammonda B ⁴binne μΑμR binde B ⁵an μR.

XVII.

R³ ¶ 142 (B 10 β 31 : M 269 a 12).

1. ¹Goirtigernn ainm in bērla
do bi ²ac ³Mae Dē ⁴deg-ērgna,
ocus ⁵ac sil nAdaim ūair,
rē cumdach in Tuir ⁶Nemrūaid. 650

2. Ge ro ¹lean ²dē ³bērla ⁴Eabra,
⁵ac lucht in domain ⁶dealbda,
⁷ead bus ainm ⁸iar mbrāth na mbenn,
⁹don bērla, ¹⁰gnāth-Goirtigern.

1. ¹sic M, Goirtigearnd B ²ag B ³a gloss in M i. ac Adam
⁴deigerna M ⁵ag sil Adhaimh (om. n.) B ⁶-aidh B.

XVIII.

R³ ¶ 144 (B 10 γ 16).

1. Gaidhel Glas, foghnaidh a radh
risi(n) fear crithir comlan,
indi diata Gaedhel Glas,
uathadh ga fuil a eolas. 655

2. Dar fotraicead sa tuind trein,
¹deadh-mae Niuil, mac gu mor-mein,
gur iadh in athair fa chneas,
o nar ²b'urus a leigheas. 660

3. An ti glas ni dheachaidh dhe,
no gur foir eo maith Maise :
d'fagsadar file ro-feas
gurob de ata Gaedel Glas. 665

4. Do fagaibh do ocus da cloind
Maisi—fa maith in acmoing—
gan peist gan nathair gu neim
a tir da ngebdais Gaideil. 670

5. Fagbais fagbhala ele
Maisi, mae gu mor-gloine,
gan diultagh fri daim n-Ain-fir
ag sil gasta glan-Gacidil.

2. ¹the a sbs. yc B²burusa a B.

XVII.

1. Goirtigern was the name of the language
which the Son of God (= Adam) of good wisdom had,
as well as the seed of Adam once on a time,
before the building of Nemrod's Tower.

2. Although it was called the Hebrew language
among the folk of the shapely world,
This is what the name shall be according to the
judgement of the summits [= sages]
for the language, current Goirtigern.

2. ¹len B ²om. de M ³berla M ⁴Eabhrā B ⁵ag B
⁶delbha B ⁷eadh B ⁸re mblrath mbend B ⁹in M
¹⁰gnaith M Garthigearnd B.

XVIII.

1. Gaedel Glas—it is convenient to give the name
to the sparkling (?) perfect man :
the reason why he was called Gaedel Glas,
few there be who know thereof.

2. As he laved him in the strong wave,
the good son of Nel, a youth with great mind,
the serpent wound about his skin,
so that his healing was not easy.

3. The green spot would not depart from him
till Moses gave him good assistance :
Poets have left the important fact of knowledge
That "Gaedel Glas" comes therefrom.

4. He left to him and to his progeny
did Moses—good was the instrument—
that no reptile or venomous serpent should be
in the land where the Gaedil should settle.

5. He left other bequests,
did Moses, a youth of great renown,
that the valorous seed of pure Gaedel
should never oppose the company of the Most High.

XIX.

R³ ¶ 153 (B 10 δ 58 : M 270 α 4).

Ro gon ¹ Milig ² fa maith eland	675
³ Rafloir nîr bo ro-anband	
Ro ⁴ seuch eo crûaid on tîr ⁵ trell	
Co sruth Nil, eo fuair Forand.	

¹ Milidh B ²la B ³Refalair nar bo (ro ins. sec. mdn.) gand B
⁴sguch gu crnaidh B ⁵treall B.

XX.

R² ¶ 432 (V 11 γ 25 : Δ 13 β 8 : E 8 β 7 : D 20 γ 26).R³ ¶ 156 (B 11 β 7 : M 270 β 37).

1. Oeht meie ¹ Golaim na ngâire	
² darb ainm ³ Milidh ⁴ Easpâine,	680
⁵ ro ⁶ sleachtadar ⁷ mili ⁸ mag :	
⁹ ea tîr as a ¹⁰ tâncadar?	
2. ¹ Aireach ² Februaad, ³ Dond, dâr Dîa	
⁴ do genair sa Seeithia;	
⁵ rucad ⁶ in ⁷ Éigept ⁸ aibnig	
⁹ Éber oeus ¹⁰ Aimirgin.	685
3. Hir, ¹ nî robe lâech ² bu lia	
³ ro genair ⁴ a thaebh ⁵ Traigia.	
Ro ⁶ genair ⁷ Colptha in ⁸ cloidim	
⁹ a ¹⁰ nglind ¹¹ Colpa a ¹² nGaethlaidib.	690
4. ¹ Ruetha ic tur Breogain ² can brôn	
³ Erennân is ⁴ Éremôn :	
dâ ⁵ sôsar na ⁶ lâech ⁷ can locht :	
Mae Dê do ⁸ strâeth a ⁹ tohoehet.	

1. ¹Gulaim V_AED ²diarb V_AED ³Milidh VB Milig M
⁴Esp. V_AED ⁵do B ⁶sleachtatar V_A slechtsatar ED ⁷mile B
⁸magh VB ⁹citne tire ingeinitar (gen. V) V_A citne tire hingenatar E
 citne tiri in genatar D: cia M ¹⁰tangadar B.

2. ¹Herech Febra is Donn, dar (is Don is dar A) V_AED ²Fabruadh B
³ins. is B ⁴ro geinitar (gen. V) isin (sin V) Seithia V_A ro genatur
 sin Seithia E regenair hi taeb Tracia D ro geinedair sin Seithia B do
 genair i taeb Traigia, with no sa Seithia sprs. M ⁵rueait VE ruecait A
 rugad D rugadh B ⁶an V_AB ind E ⁷Eigipt A E Egipt D Eighipt B
⁸aibnigh V_A aiblnigh B ⁹Éber Find (Finn D) is Amargin (Amh- A
 Amargin E Aimirgin D) V_AED ¹⁰Ameirgein B.

OF SECTION II.

XIX.

Mil of good progeny inflicted a death-wound
 on Refloir, who was not weak :
 he departed under duress from the land once on a
 time
 to the river Nile, till he found Pharao.

XX.

1. The eight sons of Golam of the laughings,
 whose name was Mil of Spain,
 they cleared a thousand plains :
 what was the land from which they came?
2. Airech Februa, Dond, before God !
 they were born in Seythia.
 Born in streamy Egypt
 were Eber and Amorgen.
3. Ir, no warrior was greater
 was born on the side of Thracia—
 Colptha of the sword was born
 in the valley of Colpa (Gampa, R²) in the Marshes.
4. Born at the tower of Breogan without sorrow
 were Erennan and Eremon,
 the two youngest of the warriors without blemish :
 the Son of God subdued their wealth.

3. ¹nir becen laech V_A nir becen laoch E nir becen laech D ni roibe
 laech B ni roibi laech M ²bud V_AD bad EM ³ro geiner B
⁴i taeb VD i ttaeb A do taob E i tracht M ⁵Tracia VE Traicia A
 Tragia D ⁶geinir B ⁷Colpta D Colpa B ⁸claidim V claidhim A
 cloidheim B ⁹hi nglinn Gampa i nGaethlaigib (-tag- A) V_A in glinn
 Gampa in Gaetlaigib D ¹⁰ngleid B ¹¹Gampan Gaotl-ib E Cholpa M
¹²-ibh B.

4. ¹ruchta E rugtha ag B ²cen V_AE cin D gan B ³Herannan VD
 Herennan A Herandan E Arandan B ⁴Herimon V_A Eiremon E Eirimon B
⁵sossar A sosar D ⁶laoch E ⁷gan V_AB cen E ein D ⁸traoth E
⁹totocht E.

NOTES ON SECTION II.

PROSE TEXTS.

First Redaction.

103. (= R³ ¶ 134). The genealogical relationship of Feinius to Noah is in confusion. R¹ gives us Feinius s. Baath s. Gomer s. Iaphet; R² makes Baath s. Magog, and its influence has affected R³, which here deserts the F*Q tradition.

The short Min version of this paragraph brings us as near as we can get to the original form, except for the interpolated Ibath, who is elsewhere a *brother* of Baath. He is unknown to F*Q in this place. *In taissech amra airigda* was probably an interlined gloss in √R¹, *taissech* being written in a not very intelligible contracted form; it was therefore misread *fer* by √L. *Issē-side . . . bērlai* was evidently a marginal note in √R¹, and the genealogy of Nimrod the same in √R¹; the first note was taken into the text before the second, for the latter has no fixed "habitat": it is here in L, but in F*Q it has entered the following paragraph (= R³ ¶ 137).

The latter interpolation emphasises a contrast, not consistently maintained, between *Bērla Fēne*, attributed to Feinius, and *Gāedelg*, constructed by Gaedel Glas (¶ 107). Such contrasts of a current and a learned language are common: we find them in *Auraicept na n-Ēces*, in *Maro*, in *Hisperica Famina* (where "Hisperie" and "Ausonie," i.e. normal Latin, are contrasted, to the disadvantage of the latter). There are numerous conflicting stories of the ancestry of Feinius and of the nature of his exploit: see *Auraicept* ed. Calder, pp. 14, 16. The whole episode of the artificial synthesis of the Gaelic language is one of the most obvious indications of the spuriousness of this part of the story.

104. (= R³ ¶ 137). The differences between R¹ and R³ (M version) are scribal only: but M has one bad error (*is in*

nAisia for *assind Assia*, corrected in the derivatives of B) and also some interpolations, on which see the notes on ¶ 137.

105. (= R³ ¶ 138). The interpolation in this ¶ is adapted from Augustine (*Civ. Dei* iv. 6) by whom it has been borrowed from Trogus Pompeius or his summarizer Justin. See also Isidore, *Etym.* xviii. 1, Orosius i. 1, ii. 2. The last-named author stresses the contrast between the peaceful pastoral life of earlier times and the military turmoil which resulted from the ambitions of Ninus.

Min is free from the intrusion: its peculiar reading *scor* for *dēnam* is interesting.

In R¹ the reading of F is much better than L, and is very close to *Q. *Fō oen māin* in L may possibly betray a Latin original, but it is more probably a misreading of *smacht* written in √L in an abbreviated form (rmoF) and slightly injured. Another lapse of sL is the omission of *da decc* at the beginning of the ¶. The chronology presupposed as between the Babylonian and Egyptian monarchs mentioned in the narratives is of course ridiculous.

At the end of the ¶, by turning *ni* to *no* (*Q in R³), or *do* (F), the F*Q tradition has badly perverted the real sense of the passage.

106. (= R³ ¶ 140). Gaedel Glas is suddenly introduced, and his relationship to Nel is left unstated. Perhaps a sentence has been lost from the beginning of this ¶, describing the settlement of Nel in Egypt and his marriage to Scota. R³ shows us what it was like, but the ¶ is there re-written and expanded under the influence of the poem no. X (*Fēne* & *Fheinius*). It must be noticed, however, that Scota is unknown to Min, so that she may be a comparatively late intrusion into the R¹ tradition.

107. (= R³ ¶ 142, first part). The list of languages in the different mss. varies in spelling and other respects to such an extent that the only satisfactory way of setting it forth is to collect all the versions into parallel columns. This will be found as an appendix to the present Section, and any comments that it may suggest are given at the end of this group of notes. As R² does not possess the list of languages

in any form, it is unlikely that the prose tabular list would have been omitted from *Min*, when it was tacked on to *R²*, if *Min* had contained it; we infer, therefore, that the metrical list was the only catalogue of the languages in *Min*.

108. (= *R²* ¶ 125, *R³* ¶ 150). Though the practical identity of this ¶ in *R¹* and *R³* would suggest that the latter is, as usual, dependent on the former, the context shows that this is not the case. It reaches *R³* from *R²*, or, rather, from the long interpolation in certain mss. of *R²*, on which see below, note on ¶ 118. It must, however, have been originally borrowed by *R²* from *R¹*, for in *R²* it interrupts the sense, which runs continuously from ¶ 124 to ¶ 126: evidently it was scribbled, as a marginal note of time, having been borrowed for the purpose from some ms. of *R¹*. A slight modification has been made at the beginning to adapt it to its new context.

109. (= *R³* ¶ 151). *R³* gives us a composite text, with matter from *R²* ¶ 127 (the description of the voyage). The divergent texts in *Min* and *R¹* relating to Noenel indicate that this sentence is, as we have marked it, glossarial.

110. (= *R³* ¶ 152). Here again *R³* gives a composite text, taking the vendetta story from some other, fragmentary, source. This can be shown by setting forth the succession of kings in tabular form.

<i>R¹</i>		<i>R³</i>	
<i>Scythians</i>	<i>Gaedil</i>	<i>Scythians</i>	<i>Gaedil</i>
...	Eber Scot	...	Eber Scot
...	Boamain	...	Boamain
Noemius		Noemius	
...	Ogamain	...	Ogamain
Refill	Tat
Refloir		Refloir	...
...	Agnomain	...	Mil

Both versions agree that Ogamain died a natural death, but after that point they diverge. *R²* (¶ 126) gives a mere abstract, but agrees with *R³* in ending with Mil, not with

Agnomain. In ¶ 157, however, *R³* returns to this point of divergence, and gives us a copy of the *R¹* text: the close correspondence with *F* shows that *o R³* has gone back for this part of his text to *Q. The assonantal names of Nél and Nenuail indicate that their legend is in essence dioscuric: the mutual hostility of their descendants would be quite in keeping with this.

The words *ar ecin*, near the beginning of this ¶, must be glossarial, as they have no fixed abode in the sentence. We have already laid down this principle.

We can hardly doubt that the name "Tat" has been borrowed from Eusebius. *Tat filius Hermetis Trismegisti* is recorded in the version of Hieronymus as flourishing in the nineteenth year of Amintes, king of Assyria. We need not here discuss the connexion of this name with that of the Egyptian god Thoth, nor the mass of nebulous philosophy put forth under these pseudonyms: it is unlikely that the Irish historians knew or cared anything about such matters. We may however suggest that a section of genealogy has been provided by this entry. Our compilers and scribes make extraordinary muddles of the Oriental names which they copy from Eusebius or his editor; and it would, for them, be a very trivial blunder to turn *Tat mac Herme(ti)s Trismegist* into *Tat mac Her m Estris m Egist*, and this, when the influence of analogical formation got to work upon it, would slip with very little difficulty into *Tat mac Sera mic Sru mic Esru*. Reference to ¶ 99 (vol. i, p. 162) shows that "Ogamain m. Boamain m. Ebir Seuit," which separate Tat and Sera in the texts before us, are interpolations.

In both texts *Noenius* becomes *Nemi* in the genitive case, once more indicating translation from a Latin original. In printing these names I have omitted quantity-marks, even over vowels which might reasonably be presumed to be long, to avoid all appearance of arbitrarily meddling with the text.

Serious criticism of this naïve example of manufactured history would be an impertinence, but it may be worth passing notice that the historians have made the invading combatants two generations later than the Scythian defenders. Boamain is in the sixth generation after Feinius: his Scythian successor Noemius in the fourth.

111. (= R³ ¶ 158). Here *Q seems to preserve the proper form of the sentence *is lia tuirim*, which has been mutilated by the loss of some words both in L and in F.

The sentence about the hands of Lamfhind reads like a glossarial interpolation, and I feel no doubt that it is so. It must however be very old, for it appears in all the mss., and also in the poems.

The sentence about the coupling between the ships is mutilated in both mss. of Min.

112. (= R³ ¶ 159). Here *Q gives by far the best copy of the paragraph. F comes next, but is spoilt by the careless *conerbait* for *condebait*.

The geographical notions in this and similar itineraries are obviously valueless artificial inventions; it may be said in general that their inventors borrowed the place-names which they used more or less at random, chiefly if not entirely from the geographical prolegomena to the *History of Orosius*. In my book *Ancient Ireland* (p. 84) I have shown that the *fact* of a long voyage may be based upon general historical reminiscence, though no importance can be allowed to the details of the narrative.

The soporific fountain is certainly borrowed from an incident in the legend of the *Voyage of Brendan*: see Schröder, *Sanct. Brandan*, p. 18; Waters, *Anglo-Norman Voyage of St. Brendan*, p. 42.

113. (= R³ ¶ 160). *Q shows that *Glas* (miswritten *Glunfind* in L) is glossarial. The mistake of L is not very serious, as all the Ebers, Februi, Febri are doubtless multiples of one personality. The appended explanatory matter in Min is a quite unnecessary interpolation, as all the facts which it contains have already been set forth: the glossator has forgotten this. The excerpt must come from another source, in which *Ibath* was substituted for *Nenual* as the name of the son of Baath.

The explanation of Eber's nickname, like that of Lamfhind's, appears to be a very early gloss.

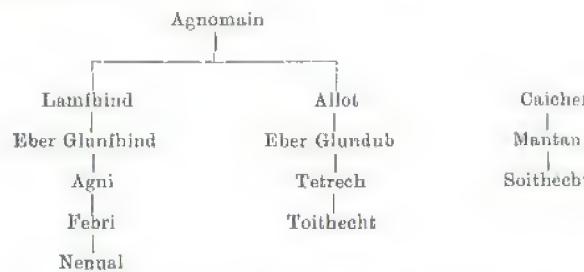
114. (= R³ ¶ 161). The long genealogy with which this ¶ begins runs down the margin of L, but within the edge of

the column of writing: an intermediate stage between the glossarial form, outside the column of writing, and the complete incorporation in the text which we find in F and R³. The text of *Q is once more the best.

The geographical interpolation in Min, which has ousted the very modest itinerary in LF*Q, is of unusual length for an addition to that normally succinct version. The jumble of names is identified so far as possible in the translation, and with one exception needs no further comment: namely, the difficult *Narboscorda*, if this is to be treated as a geographical proper name, like the other stages in the route. As it apparently lies between Albania and the Bosporus, it is presumably (though not necessarily!) somewhere in the Balkan peninsula. The Seardus Mountains naturally suggest themselves, but there is nothing about them to account for "Narbo." The city called Sarmizegethusa in Dacia, afterwards more manageably named *Colonia Ulpia*, could also conceivably lie behind the word under discussion. A further clue might be offered by Narbo (= Narbonne), forty miles south of which town were people called *Sordones* or *Sordi*: but to call in the aid of these names would make the geography of the passage more unintelligible than ever. Naturally I have considered the possibility of treating the word as predicative, *nar bo scorda* "that was not . . ." cut, or enclosed, or delimited, or ploughed, or something of the kind; but this expedient is not satisfactory. There I leave the question; there may be some, perhaps quite simple, explanation which does not happen to have occurred to me. I retain the name *Torrian*, recognising its ambiguity ("Tyrrhene" or "Mediterranean") which the context is powerless to resolve. Crete is repeated by some oversight. The *Sab* ("strong") Islands are the Fortunate Islands (= Canaries); the name has arisen from a confusion between *fortis* and *fortunatus*, encountered in some Latin text. I have failed to hit upon an identification for "the swamp called *Coir*."

115. (= R³ ¶ 162). The compound *Gädel-tōisech* in F*QMin, artificially emended in L, has probably arisen from a gloss. Some one noted *Gädel* (gen. pl.) above the word *tōisech* in his copy of the ms. There is a further corruption toward the end of the paragraph. We are told of "two

grandsons" in joint rule: but actually three persons are mentioned. If we set out the names, as we find them, in genealogical form,



we see, first, that Nenual is a *great*-grandson of the ancestor from whom he is derived; and, secondly, that the assonantal names, Toithecht and Soithecht (compare Oece and Uece) were almost certainly intended to be in close association.

The genealogy has become so disjointed that it cannot be restored with certainty, though it is tempting to suggest the following as the original form—



excluding Nenual altogether. Presumably the name of Tetrech, which in a measure rhymes with the corresponding Febri, is borrowed from that of the usurper Tetricus (267–274 A.D.).

116. (= R³ ¶ 163–4). Only for a few slight differences, chiefly orthographical, we might have supposed that R³ based his text on F, so closely does his version approximate to that ms. But they are enough to make it clear that we must still continue to postulate *Q as the source of these two paragraphs in R³. The genealogical matter is evidently intrusive in all mss. The Tuscans and the Lombards we know, though it is surprising to find them in Spain. The Barchu, who appear in a variety of spellings, are less easy to identify. Barcino (= Barcelona) suggests itself; it is also not impossible that

the word is an old error for Baschu, and that the people intended were the Vascones, in the western end of the Pyrenees. But on the whole it is most probable that the corruption is more deeply seated than appears at first sight, and that in the Barchu, Langobardi, and Toiseno of LG we are to see the Vaceaei, Celtiberi, and Oretani, the three peoples of Spain mentioned by Orosius (I, ii. 74).

117. (= R³ ¶ 165). It is a quaint fact that Breogan's Tower has evolved into "Tor mae Breoghuin, king of Spain" in the late romance called *Cath Finntrágha*.

Second Redaction.

118–125. (= R³ 143–150). This long *pericope* is no part of the original text of R², and it confuses the narrative. It is a scholastic invention, designed to glorify the Gaelic ancestry by bringing them more closely into connexion with Moses. It is not found in ED; it probably was not in R, but it certainly was in A, as stichometry shows that the text of A was as closely identical with V in its lost leaves as it is in the extant portion. It was also contained in V/P, but sP never got very far in copying it. V therefore is now our only authority for the text in R²; but it was also taken into R³, where it occupies ¶ 143–150; from which we infer that the interpolation was contained in ∞ R³'s ms. of R² (*W). This had on the whole a slightly better text than the version which we find in V. Thus, in ¶ 118, V has admitted an absurd gloss making Aaron brother of Abraham. A necessary sentence (ē rānig dochum . . . fiadnuise in tslōig) has been lost from V in the beginning of ¶ 119, but is preserved in R³, in ¶ 144. But in general the differences are trivial.

Capacirunt, Capaciroth: also written in two words, *Capa Cirunt*. The two forms are used in this paragraph in both redactions, the one at the beginning, the other in the middle. The second form is preferable, the first being a corruption. Clearly the place intended is the (unidentified) Pi-Hahiroth of Exodus xiv. 2. This our historians have divided into *Piha Hiroth*, the h's have become gutturals, and in some way the syllables of the first member of the word have become

reversed. There is a possible touch of perverted scholarship in the identification of Pi-Hahiroth with an "estate." The writer of the story seems to have looked up the Septuagint text, where the name of the place is rendered, not as a proper name, but by the words ἀπέραντη τῆς ἐπούλεως, "in front of the farm-stead."¹ There is an abstract of this story in Liber Flavus Fergnsiorum (43 aβ) in which the place appears as *Capacirot*.

Foillsi fiadnuise is a glossarial ejaculation, which early entered the text, for its confusion.

119. The explanation of the name of Gaedel Glas, like all such explanations, is glossarial.

Cét lem-sa and similar expressions are almost invariably jussive, not permissive, in sense, and should be so translated.

The immunity of the descendants of Gaedel Glas from serpent-bites is undoubtedly totemistic in origin: for parallels see Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. ii, p. 456.

120. This ¶ makes it clear that the preceding ¶, with the story of the serpent, is an interpolation: it is therefore so indicated in the printed text. The present paragraph follows on naturally with the end of ¶ 118, where Nel has put provisions at the disposal of the Israelites. Moreover in the R³ version the interlocutor continues to be *Aaron*. In R² he has been changed to *Moses*, owing to the influence of the preceding story. This is a natural change to take place, but the contrary is not; we therefore infer that *Aaron* was the original speaker. There is a further interpolation at the end of the ¶ in the mss. of R³, which is an attempt to explain how the ships came to be at the disposal of the Israelites at all: a problem solved otherwise by K, from whom we learn unambiguously that they stole them! This insertion has been further complicated by the taking into the text of a marginal query: "[cid] ar na bertais Meic Israhel fēin leo cena na longa sin?"—a reader's natural question "Why did not the Israelites use these ships themselves?": along with a later reader's not very illuminating reply.

121. There is no Biblical authority for the numbers of

¹ The actual meaning of the Hebrew word is quite uncertain.

Pharaoh's army that was drowned. These statistics are most probably glossarial: they vary in different versions. That the sea was divided *i ndiāid* "in the wake of" the people has arisen from a confusion of ideas—a mixture of the sea opening *before* the Israelites and the Egyptian host pursuing and coming to grief *behind* them. Compare ¶ 150, which contains a gloss showing a more intelligent grasp of the situation.

122. The theory that Nel's descendants remained for three generations in Egypt after the catastrophe to Pharaoh contradicts the story of R¹, and indeed contradicts that of the versions of R² which are not contaminated by this interpolation. According to these, the exodus from Egypt took place immediately after the catastrophe.

123. A list of Egyptian kings will be found in Section VIII. This enumerates five kings between "Cineris" and Tures or "Tuir," in order Ceres, Armades, Rameses, Amenoses, Amenomes. These names are borrowed (and mutilated) from Eusebius. Ceres = Akherres and his successor Kherres, who may be Tutankhamun and his successor Kheper-kheperu-ari-maat-ra. Armadis = Armais, that is Hor-em-heb, the king with whom the eighteenth dynasty came to an end, c. 1321 B.C. Rameses (the Eusebian Remesses) may be either the first or the second of the numerous kings who bore that name. Amenoses (= Menophes) is most likely Merneptah, and Amenomes (= Amenophes, but here out of his proper place in the Eusebian canon) is presumably Amenmeses. Tures or Tuir, whom our present narrator apparently supposes to have been the immediate successor of Cineris, was actually the ninth in succession after Smenkha-ka-ra, and was not a king at all, but a queen, the Thuores of Eusebius and the Ta-wosret of the Egyptian records, whose *floruit* was in the last quarter of the thirteenth century B.C.

"Neetenibus," that is Nectanebus II (Nekht-neb-ef in the Egyptian records) was the last native king of Egypt.

Probably *Ocus ba Forand . . . Nectenibus* and *ocus ba ar cūis . . . riu-son sin-sen* are the two halves of a marginal gloss which has been intruded, suffering dismemberment in the process. One of the two alternative enumerations of the

intervening kings is certainly a reader's correction in some ancestral ms.; the text of R³ gives reason to believe that in this case it is the first of the alternatives which is to be so rejected: see the note on § 148.

124. *ō ro balar co trēn*, i.e., after they had recovered from the catastrophe in the Red Sea.

125. On this §, and its relation to its present context, see the note on § 108 above.

126. This brief summary of the contest in Seythia appears in R³ at § 152. See above, notes to § 110. Note that in this version Refloir is not son of Risfill, but of "Nema" or Noemius, who is his grandfather in the other texts. Taprobane (= Ceylon) is the only geographical term introduced into the itinerary with which we have not yet met.

127. We evidently have here a story parallel to that of Nel and his descendants. The two voyages follow much the same route: both introduce an Egyptian king as patron, and an Egyptian princess called Seota. The marriage of Mil to the Seythian princess Seng is unknown to ∞ R² or to any of his interpolators.

128. Nekht-neb-ef, the personage called Nectanebus II, was the last native king of Egypt, as has been mentioned above. It is true that he was driven from his kingdom and fled to Ethiopia: his conqueror was not, however, Alexander the Great, but Artaxerxes Ochus, B.C. 350. Alexandria was founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. It is needless to say that Seota II, daughter of Nectanebus, is as mythical—or rather as fictitious, for "mythical" implies at least the existence of a tradition—as her namesake and doublet, Seota I daughter of Cineris. The word is merely the feminine of *Scotus*, and is one more grain of evidence that this artificial history in its earliest form wore a Latin dress.

129. It is safe to remove γ *ni huamun . . . gabāil do* from the text as glossarial: it refers to nothing else in the history, and indeed contradicts the antecedent story, in the present form of the document, that this promise had been made by Moses. Evidently it is the jotting of some patriot, jealous for the honour of his mythical ancestor. Keating

refers it to the prophecy of Caicher at the Rhipean mountain: this, however, cannot be justified, as that event does not appear in the antecedents of the story in the present version—another interesting illustration of the critical worthlessness of a composite eclectic text. The γ at the beginning of this interpolation should probably, as so frequently, be corrected to *i*. The words *in lín cētna* have no grammatical connexion with the context, and are also glossarial.

The end of this § is redactional and harmonistic. Originally the two Seotas were one, set in different stories, but both contrived to give a name for the origin of the Scots. When they were blended into one composite story, Seota I, wife of Nel, had the chronological pre-eminence (to say nothing of Riphath Seot and Eber Seot); so that Seota II, wife of Mil, could no longer claim any eponymous significance. The redactor therefore ingeniously "turns the tables" upon her, and tells us that so far from her descendants deriving their name from her, she took her own name from her husband's people. A blundering glossator of H borrows this comment, but applies it to Seota I, thus dethroning her from her eponymy: see below, § 137.

130. We remove *for in Muir immechtrach and seōlad sē samlāithi*, as their intrusion disturbs the text.

Inill aro ni anfem de is not necessarily mere learned nonsense, like the gibberish sentencee peppered through the apocryphon called *Tenga Bithnā*, though naturally the explanation given of it is futile. It helps to keep up Caicher's character as a druid to put enigmatical utterances into his mouth, and the compiler may quite possibly have adapted some traditional "word of power" for the purpose. The difference between the formula as presented in the text of V and in the associated gloss indicates that the words, such as they are, are corrupt. They are not found in R³, but reappear in K, one of many indications that K, while borrowing from R¹ and R³, based most of his work on R². The phrase is given in *Auraicept na n-Éces* as an example of *Bérla Fortchidi* ("obscure language"): see Calder's edition, lines 1323, 4640.

The itinerary in this and the following §, which greatly

elaborates the simpler route set forth in R¹ ¶ 111, seems to show an attempt to lay down a route in the shape of a vast spiral. It starts from Egypt, passes through the Red Sea, round Asia, south, east, and north, into and out of the Caspian Sea, on through the straits of Gibraltar, past the north coast of Africa, through the Black Sea, on to the North Cape, and thence, 300 years thereafter, to Ireland: in a further random wandering, through Southern Europe and the Mediterranean Islands (¶ 131). There may be some idea of "luck" underlying this roundabout course, but the left-hand-wise direction is not favourable to any such esoteric explanation. The source and extent of the knowledge of the outer world among the native historians of Ireland would offer matter for a separate monograph: we must here confine ourselves to a few points. It is not clear whether *Clochaigi* is meant to denote a special part of Seythia (compare *Arabia Fœtrœa*) or is a mere reference to the general *inopia* of the country (emphasized by Orosius III, xiii, 7). The author believes with Strabo (VII, ii, 4, etc.) that the Caspian was an inlet of the Northern Ocean, not a closed inland lake. The transference of the Sirens to that sea is a bold stroke of originality! The Libyan Sea is between Crete and Cyrenaica: Coronis is the Cyraunis of Herodotus, identified with the little island of Cercina off the Libyan Coast: the Pontic Sea is the Euxine. *Trœ-willech*, the stock epithet for Spain, comes from the *Hispania trigona* of Orosius (I, ii, 69).

If Bregunt in ¶ 131 is here correctly identified with Burgundia, the authority followed by our historian for the name will scarcely be older than the sixth century. Before that time it is the people (*Burgundiones*), rather than the territory, which appears in literature.

132. Compare R¹ ¶ 116, from which it will be seen that the number of battles has increased from 3 to 54, and that the Tuseans have turned into Frisians!

Third Redaction.

134. On this ¶ see the note to ¶ 103.

135. ∞ R³ has evidently considered the preceding ¶ as belonging to § I: this present paragraph is his "chapter-

heading" of § II. It maintains the Magog version of the genealogy.

136. This entire ¶ is glossarial. Its nucleus is evidently a marginal genealogy of Feinius Farsaid, in some early ms. of R³. This being taken into the text received the further gloss *is hē imorro . . . Tur Neamrūaid*, which was probably still glossarial in \sqrt{BMII} . It was taken into the text in ∞ B and ∞ M, but in ∞ H it remained glossarial, to be combined later with the text at the end of the long insertion in that tradition. This insertion consists primarily of R² ¶ 16, taken practically as we find it in V, with but one difference (*ochtmud* for *sesed*, doubtless the result of a misreading of a numeral sign: and if the matter is of any importance at all, the R³ version has a greater claim to correctness). The glossarial interpolation *Is follus . . . tuc Scotie on Tur* in ¶ 16 was also taken over, and with it was incorporated the R³ gloss about the learning of Feinius (with a further interpolation, *γ ba so-gradaigi*). But it became separated from its original context when another hand inserted a list of the eight leaders of the Tower-builders. This differs from the more extensive lists in *Auraicept* and has some additional particulars, such as the statement that Peleg was the ancestor of the Indians, a "fact" which the compilers apparently ascertained from *Ser Aetates Mundi*. There is an interesting suggestion of a reminiscence of the lost Irish *Genesis* which we have been endeavouring to reconstruct, in the description of Nimrod as a hunter "opposed to" the Lord. This arises ultimately from the familiar Hebrew idiom which says "a mighty hunter before the Lord," meaning no more than "a very mighty hunter indeed." The Irish perversion can hardly have arisen from the Vulgate version of this phrase (*coram Domino*), but might very well have been induced by a pardonable misunderstanding of the LXX (*εναντίον Κυρίου*). The hand of the conscientious Translator whom we have isolated seems here, for the last time, to be recognisable.

The ancestry given for Latinus is a desperate piece of harmonistic redacting. Faunus was actually son of Pius, and Italus had nothing to do with his ancestry, any more than "Alainus" with whom he is identified. The identification of

Rifath Seot with Fenius Farsaid in one place, and the latter being reckoned as sixteenth in descent from Rifath in another, and, at the end, his specification as one of the sixteen of Rifath's progeny at the Tower, are collectively further interesting attempts at reconciling irreconcilables.

137. The MB version is practically identical with R¹ ¶ 104 except for a few interpolations, duly marked in the printed text. We have already noted the taking in of the Nimrod genealogy into the wrong place out of the margin: see above, notes to ¶ 103. Except for this, the only important interpolation is *Fhostoiges* in M (not in B) after the name of Pharaoh. This same name appears later in an interpolation in the same ms. (see below, ¶ 140, critical note (18)) in the form *Pharaeo Istoiges*, and evidently represents a peculiar idea of √M as to the personality of the Pharaoh of the Exodus. Nothing that can reasonably be identified with this name can be found among the perversions of Pharaonic names recorded by Manetho and Eusebius; it must be a vague recollection of *Pastores*, the "Shepherd Kings," to whom Eusebius assigns 103 years (30th year of Jacob to 12th year of Joseph), ending 212 years before the Red Sea catastrophe.

H substitutes a fuller version of Pharaoh's message, derived from R² ¶ 18, plus the interpolation on Seota already commented upon under ¶ 129, and a chronological extract from the glossarial matter in R² ¶ 17.

138. This is R¹ ¶ 105, copied with some mistakes, on which see the notes on ¶ 105. The principal variant is the chronological discrepancy at the beginning (40 or 42 years in R¹, 52 in R³).

139. A chronological interpolation in H derived from R² ¶ 17. The conclusion of this ¶ has entered the text of H in the previous ¶, showing that it was a marginal comment in "J H, copied from a ms. of R², and accidentally or otherwise bisected. We have already seen illustrations of this process of dispartition. The only critical contribution which the text makes is that *mac Anaciss* and *Lauinia*, which as E ¶ 17 shows us were glossarial, have now become established in the text. Once again "six" is corrected to "eight" as the number of the leaders at the Tower.

140. Here ∞ R³ has for the moment abandoned his scissors and pastepot, and taken up his pen to write a composite paragraph, not found in the two preceding redactions. The first sentence (as is shown by the word *teas*) he takes from R² ¶ 118. He then goes back to R¹ ¶ 106 for the particulars about Nel's marriage to Seota and the birth of Gaedel Glas, though without slavishly following the words of his authority. Then he gives the quatrain *Fōne ó Fheinias*; either he himself, or a later hand, has inserted the prose paraphrase which precedes it in the present text.

141. This is one of the peculiar interpolations which are frequent in M. The "Seythian" origin of the name of the Scots is favoured by the author of this paragraph. I have not discovered its source.

142. To the list of languages as given by Min, the redactor appended this grammatical paragraph (see above, note headed ¶ 107 A). It was an unusual proceeding on his part: he is more accustomed to prune Min than to farce it; and he must have attached special importance to it. *W must have included Min, as well as the long Nel-Moses pericope at the beginning of this section: and from this ∞ R³ took over the paragraph and inserted it where we find it.

To discuss the contents of the paragraph itself at length would be outside our present scope; and in any case it is of no importance, for it was clearly brought to its present form by arbitrary philomaths, before it became included in the LG text. It originally began by being an enumeration of the four parts of grammar (orthography, accidence, syntax, and prosody): reasonable enough, if elementary. This was overlaid by some glossator, who (impressed by the number "four") quoted, evidently without knowing anything of the nature of their contents, four important but quite irrelevant law tracts. Orthography then suggested a reference to various forms of secret writing, enumerated (but without any illuminating explanations) in *Auraicept na n-Éces*.²

²This document would have to be in constant reference if we had any excuse for introducing an exhaustive discussion of the matter before us.

Of grammar ('accidence') we are given puerilities about its being "a rudder of correct speech" and its "excellent knowledge." Syntax, or composition, suggests a mention of the standard stories which the professional historians were supposed to know; and for prosody another old and apparently lost law-tract is quoted, again with no knowledge of its origin, or of the nature of its contents. The statements of these scribblers call for no more serious consideration than that of a schoolboy who told an acquaintance of mine, in answering a "general knowledge" paper, that "the Book of Kells contains thousands of poems relating the secret history of the Irish people."

The number "four" reappears in the four principal languages, and in the four names of Gaelic. These names, along with the incomprehensible "Goirthigern," applied to antediluvian Hebrew, and, indeed, the whole paragraph which contains them, are admirable examples of the artificial pedantry with which these ancient charlatans, unequipped with any real learning, contrived to maintain their prestige.

The four names of Gaelic are not so mysterious as they appear to be: they have evidently been adapted unintelligently from some old glossary. Gaelic was, we are told, gleaned or collected from the other languages. *Tionól* is Irish for "a gathering" or "an assembly," and *tionóltach* is a factitious adjective derived from this word. *Legulus* is a late Latin word meaning "a gatherer" of fruit, applied especially to one who gleans fallen olives. פָלַל, *t-q-t*, are the radical letters of the Hebrew words which bear the sense of "gleaning." פָלַל *t-l-qq-t* (omitting the vowel-points) occurs three times in *Ruth*, chap. ii, meaning "she gleaned." From the backward spelling of the Tetragrammaton in poem V, l. 96, we learn to read any Hebrew words, that may appear in our texts, from left to right—i.e., backward from the Hebrew point of view: and evidently this word, culled from a glossary, read backwards, and fitted arbitrarily with vowels, has produced the word *Ticcoloth*. As for *Moloth*, the "Greek" name for Gaelic, if we write ουλογή, the word which naturally suggests itself in this connexion, in capital letters: thus, ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ: we see without difficulty how this could evolve into *Moloth* (the first *lambda* being read as *A*, and the resultant *UA* reduced to *O*).

Goirthigern, which doubtless has nothing to do with the personal name more familiar in the form *Vortigern*, must be left in its obscurity. It suggests vaguely some such meaning as "the call" or "the voice" "of Lords" or "of the Lord"—a name not inappropriate for the speech of Paradise, celestial and terrestrial, in the days of innocence. The name might conceivably have been suggested by the hymn to "The Voice of the Lord" (= thunder), Psalm xxix (Vulgate xxviii).

The version of the story of the formation of Gaelic, substituted by H for the early part of this paragraph, makes Feinius the inventor of Gaelic, not Gaedil, as the rest of the paragraph maintains.

143. Here begins the extract which R³ has made from the V version of R². The chief differences in R³ are orthographical and insignificant; but the report of the interview between Nel and Aaron is slightly fuller in R³. Comparison of the two versions reveals a few glossarial intrusions in both texts, duly marked in the proper place.

144. = R² 119. R³ here preserves an unmutilated text. The opening sentence, missing in R², and (less certainly) the statement that the injured boy was carried to Moses at the suggestion of Nel's household, appear to be original, not intrusive. But "Succoth" is perhaps intrusive: this was a camping place *before* the Israelites moved to Pi-Hahiroth (Ex. xiv. 2), and there is no reason why it should be mentioned here.

145. = R² 120. On the appended gloss to this paragraph see note to ¶ 120. This apart, the two versions run parallel except for slight verbal changes.

146. = R² 121. We need notice only that a too-hasty glossator has thrown the first sentence into confusion by inserting *Nel*; and that *W must have had the same curious mistake as the extant ms., in making the division of the Red Sea *behind* the Israelites.

147. = R² 122. We remove *im muir Rūaidh*, which is unknown to R², as an unnecessary gloss.

148. = R² 123. The omission in M of the words *in cūiced ri tricbat no* is an indication that (contrary to what we

should *a priori* have expected) the first, not the second, of these alternatives is the glossarial interpolation. It has therefore been so marked in the printed text of R².

149. = R² 124, with no difference but an insignificant interpolation.

150. = R² 125. Comparison between the two texts enables us to remove from R² 1 *a mac i. Eber Scot* as glossarial, (borrowed from R¹ ¶ 109) the plurals following being harmonistic changes. On the other hand, in R³, *mae Easrū meic Gáedhil* must be an interpolation. So, perhaps, is *ð rā báithead . . . Israhel*, which contradicts the assumption of the pericope before us, that the family remained in Egypt for at least three generations after the catastrophe in the Red Sea. The mention of the names of the sons of Mil at the end of the ¶ is also glossarial.

151. ∞ R³ now returns to R¹, to take over the account of the departure from Egypt, and then returns to R², whence he extracts the itinerary of the voyage and the fighting for the crown of Scythia (including the slaying of Refloir by *Mil*) as it appears in R² ¶ 126, omitting the chronological note at the end. The end of the paragraph from *Imtūsa Srū* is a return to R¹; but it has fallen into a certain amount of confusion, as comparison between the two texts will show. The clumsy *Imtūsa Srū*, meaningless in its present context, is redactional. It indicates that the account of the voyage was borrowed from R² by the original compiler, and was not an introduced gloss which had produced subsequent dispartition of the extract from R¹: they are the words of an editor, who having turned aside from authority A for a moment to cut something out of authority B, goes back to A with words equivalent to, "To return to what we were saying . . ." There would have been no such link if the paragraph had merely been cut in two by an intrusive glossator.

The redactor has not taken the trouble to correct R²'s parentage of Refloir ("Nema" or Noemius instead of Refill): and he has introduced a mistake of his own in the Scythian genealogy. Nenual I was son, and Nenual II great-grandson of Feimius: the grandson of that patriarch was Baath.

152. R³ takes the beginning of this ¶ from R¹, ¶ 110, but for the actual account of the fighting between the claimants for the Scythian crown he has gone to some independent source. This is not R², though it has affinity with the brief description of the war in R² ¶ 126: especially in ascribing the slaying of Refloir to Mil, not to Agnomain as in R¹. It is, however, fuller, and enlightens us as to the kinship existing between Mil and Refloir through the lady Seng, of whom we should not otherwise have heard in this place. There must have been a large number of such inventions hammered out by the ancient "historians." The amount of genuine traditional material underlying them was small: they smell of the lamp; perhaps they were never meant to be more than the equivalents of a modern "historical romance" which, however, later uncritical compilers found and took seriously. There does not seem to be the slightest indication of a source from which these successions of names could have been obtained. Refill may be of Scandinavian origin: the name appears as that of a sword in *Skáldskaparmál* (Pros. Edda, ed. Wilken, p. 116) and *Rafils hestr*—"Rævil's steed"—is a kenning for "a ship" (Ræfil being the name of a sea-lord) in the Western Volsung-lay (Vigfusson and Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, i, p. 156). This may give some indication of whence the germ of these ideas of an eastern European dynasty came; but the story itself is mere invention. On the other hand some hints (indicated in the introduction to the following section of this compilation) may possibly point to a mythological germ at the heart of the narrative.

153. Apparently based on R² ¶ 128, but both are more probably taken and re-modelled from a common source. The differences are too great to allow us to regard it as one of R³'s ordinary borrowings. "Fornechtenibus" has evidently evolved at some stage of the tradition from an abbreviation For(and) Necht.; "Forand" has then been inserted by a later scribe.

154. R³ now returns unmistakably to R² and borrows ¶ 129, omitting the last sentence. The passage has acquired

some additional accretions. B has made a mistake which might have occurred more frequently, writing *Forann* for *ferann*.

155. This itinerary comes from another source: the geographical names are corrupt and obscure. *Indniam* (where we once more see a Latin accusative) is presumably India, but it might be the river Indus. In *Cirord*, remembering that *c* before *i* is pronounced soft in such names, I am inclined to identify the land of the Seres or Chinese. *Golgardoma* may be the city of Palibothra, which is situated on the Ganges (*Gaind*). *Sliab Coguaist* is usually identified with the Caucasus, but here it may conceivably mean the Hindukush mountains. I can give no reasonable identification for *Ithia* and the river *Boria*. *Ocus anaid mi inntc* is marked as a gloss, as it clearly comes illogically before the following words. It is evident that after the itinerary, which has ousted the R² version, the tale of the Sirens was borrowed from R²: but this has been upset by a too-eager glossator, who as usual wrote the story in his own words without waiting to see whether the document had it already.

The interpolator had a capricious memory, which played him false in three respects. He imagined that the device of stopping the ears was a usual custom; he forgot the name of the man who suggested it in the case under discussion (this is supplied by the context, but he overlooked it); and he made an odd mistake about the material used to shut out the music.

The new form of the story ousted the old. The tale of the Amazons is a fresh importation into the story. It probably existed as a Latin gloss in *VMBH*, as only independent translation from a common source would account for the essential similarity but verbal divergence between the versions of B and M.

The details as to the manners of the Amazons are a commonplace of Classical tradition, and may have reached the Irish compilers through Isidore (*Etym.*, IX, ii, 64). Amazons were said to have been established in many regions (see the particulars collected in Roscher, or any other dictionary of Classical Mythology): but I have not discovered the source of the statement that there were 32 clans of them. There is

a corruption in B, due probably to a rubbed line of writing in *VB*. The words *-dis a congeindleacht conad anflaith* correspond to *-ed a ndibraici umpu*. *Ocus is ē lin* in M, and are of about the same length, but they make neither reasonable sense nor grammar with the context. The reading of M should be substituted.

156. This much-expanded story of the wanderings of Mil comes from a source other than the previous redactions. Most noteworthy is the episode of the Cruithne, told to account for the Gaedil and the Cruithne living together in the same country. It might be an adaptation of the story of Moses and Nel (or *vice versa*?). In both cases there are two sets of wanderers seeking a territory, and in both cases an invitation is given by the one company to the other to share the land which they expect to occupy. But recalling the parallel which we have already drawn between *Liber Occupationis* and the narrative of the Israelites, we can hardly regard it as doubtful that the story of Joshua and the Gibeonites (*Jos.* ix, 3 ff.) was at the back of the compiler's mind. It is left ambiguous whether it was by the Cruithne or by Mil that the invitation was given: possibly the former was at first preferred and, indeed, constituted a sort of title-deed to the lands of the Cruithne in favour of the Gaedil. Later developments, as we shall see hereafter, favoured the second alternative. According to Isidore (*Etym.*, XIV, iii, 3) Alania was the territory between the Maeotic Marshes and Dacia. "Druim Saitl" is *Saltus Castulonensis*, the eastern part of the Sierra Morena. The situation attributed to *Farus* (aliter *Forus*) suggests identification with the Pyrenees.

157. A few prefatory words introduce another extract from *Q, with which this part of R³ closes. The version in R¹ will be found at the end of ¶ 110.

158. = R¹ (*Q) ¶ 111. The text has suffered slightly in transcription, as comparison will show. The variants are of no critical importance.

159. = *Q ¶ 112. The same observation applies to this also.

160. = *Q ¶ 113. Note the omission of G[as] after the name Febri, though this is found in F.

161. = *Q ¶ 114, which closely resembles the F version, as usual.

162. = *Q ¶ 115, which again corresponds to F in what it contains and omits. The genealogy is corrupted to the extent of making Febri son of Agno[mai]n, instead of the different person Agni; and as in the previous paragraphs there are one or two other minor deviations.

163. = *Q ¶ 116. Once more the text is very close to F, even in the loss of the "fourteen wedded couples" who were in the ships along with the seven hirelings: this must have been missing in √*QF. The genealogies have become badly mixed in this present version of the text.

164. = *Q ¶ 116, latter half.

165. = *Q ¶ 117, with several corruptions. The dating of the discovery of Ireland to Samain eve is a new interpolation.

The List of Languages.

It is obvious on the surface that this so-called list of languages is essentially a much-corrupted list of names of places, or rather of population-centres; and it is not necessary to seek far for its source. The names have all been extracted from the description of the world and its geography in Isidore (*Etym.*, book XIV). The geographical order of Isidore, and any possible genealogical order (indicating the distribution of the names among the descendants of the three sons of Noah) have been abandoned in favour of a metrical order: for mnemonic purposes the list must have been put into verse form, in which considerations of alliteration and rhyme dominate all others, immediately after it had been drawn up. This cannot have taken place long after Isidore's compilation became available in Ireland; for we find the list, in an imperfect form, in two seventh-century poems published by Kuno Meyer, which in the present note we shall call Y and Z.³ It appears, again in an imperfect form, in

³ "Über die älteste irische Dichtung" (*Abh. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.* 1913). The poems begin *Enna*, *Labraid* (Y) at p. 27, and *Cū cen māthair* (Z) at p. 53, of Meyer's publication.

the set of quatrains here published as poem no. XI (in the present note called V, i.e., *verse*). The full list appears also in *Auraicept na n-Éces*, in two texts (Ballymote, here called E, ed. Calder, pp. 16, 18, and Yellow Book of Lecan, here called A, ed. Calder, p. 179) which differ not inconsiderably between themselves and from the version in the prose LG (in the present note called P, i.e., *prose*).⁴ All these six Irish versions of the list have to be collated in order to establish the identifications of the names.

In the following summary, variants of spelling within the LG texts, which can be ascertained from the tables in the proper place, are disregarded, except in so far as they indicate the most probable version of the respective names to be adopted. The order of the names is as in P; the small figures denote the numerical position of the names in the other lists. The names in italics are those in Isidore, references to chapter and section of book XIV (ed. Lindsay) being added. The omission of a name from any list is indicated by *om.*

There are 65 names in the list in Y, 56 in Z, 65 in V, 61 in A and 72 in E. They are much corrupted, and many of them defy certain identification. There also appear to be some doublets, in which the same name appears in different forms.

The original list appears to have been nothing more than a catalogue of the principal countries, for an aid in geographical study, and without any *arrière pensée* of attaching it to the Flood or to the Babel story. There was thus no motive for making the number 73 exactly; and it is therefore unnecessary to assume with Meyer that any of the strophes of the early verse lists are missing (*op. cit.*, p. 27). It was only when the grammarians appropriated the lists that the number 73, to correspond with the number of the peoples descended from the diluvian patriarchs, and that of the languages dispersed at the Tower of Babel, became

⁴ Another version of the list will be found in the document correctly described by Scaliger as *Excerpta utilissima ex priore libro chronologico Eusebii etc. latine conversa ab homine barbaro, inepto, hellenismi et latinitatis imperitissimo* (Scaliger's ed. of the Chronicle of Eusebius, 1606, part ii, p. 44 ff.).

indispensable; and it was attained by heroic interpolations. The most curious of these are the three “languages” appended to the lists in M and H, to which attention is called in a footnote. These three absurdities are necessary to the lists in question, as, owing to the loss of certain items, they could not otherwise have made up the required number.

1. Beithin : Bethin Y¹ Bithin Z¹ Bethin V¹ Beithin A¹ Beithin E¹ : *Bithynia* (3. 41)
2. Seitin : Seithin Y² Seithin Z² Seithin V² Sgeithin A² Seithi E² : *Scythia* (3. 31)
3. Seill : Scill Y³ Scill Z³ Seill V³ Sgill A¹² Siel E⁶ : *Cilicia* (3. 45)
4. Seartin : Scarthaig Y⁵ Searthin Z⁵ Seartain V⁴ Ircair A¹¹ Hircain E⁷ : *Hyrcania* (3. 33)
5. Guit : Gothia Y⁷ Guith Z⁷ Guth V⁶ Goith A¹⁵ Guit E⁸ : *Gothia* (3. 31)
6. Greie : Grēic Y⁸ Grēic Z⁸ Gree V⁸ om. A om. E : *Graccia* (4. 7)
7. Germain : Germāin Y⁹ Germāin Z⁹ Germain V⁷ Germain A⁴ Germain E⁴ : *Germania* (4. 3)
8. Gaill : Gaill Y⁸ Gaill Z⁸ Gaill V⁸ Gaill A⁵ Gailli E¹³ : *Gallia* (4. 25)
9. Poimp : Point Y¹⁰ Poimp Z¹⁰ Paimp V⁸ Point A⁸ Point E⁹ : *Pentapolis* (3. 24)
10. Frigia : Frig Y¹⁸ Frig Z⁴⁷ Frigia V¹⁶ om. A om. E : *Phrygia* (3. 41)
11. Caispia : om. Y om. Z Caspia V²¹ om. A om. E : *Cappadocia*^(a) (3. 38)
12. Dardain : Dardāin Y⁵⁷ Dardāin Z⁵⁴ Dardain V¹² Dardain A⁵⁵ Dordain E⁶⁶ : *Dardania*^(b) (3. 41)
13. Pampil : Pampil Y¹¹ Pampil Z¹¹ Poimpil V¹³ Paimpil A⁷ Paimpil E¹⁴ : *Pamphylia* (3. 44)
14. Morind : Moraind Y¹² Moraind Z¹² Morind V¹⁴ Morann A⁹ Morain E¹⁹ : *Mauretania* (5. 10)

(a) Corrupted by the influence of the name of the Caspian Sea.

(b) The compiler has overlooked the identity of Dardania and Phrygia, which is expressly stated by Isidore.

15. Liguārn : Lugdōin Y¹³ Lugdōin Z¹³ Ligainn V¹⁵ Luigdin^(a) A¹⁰ Lugoil E¹¹ : *Lycaonia* (3. 42)
16. Oatri : om. Y Oatri Z¹⁴ Oatre V¹⁶ om. A om. E : A variant in P is Daithri; perhaps a corruption of *Bactria* (3. 30)
17. Creit : Creit Y¹⁷ Creit Z¹⁷ Creit V¹⁷ Creit A¹⁶ Creit E¹⁸ : *Creta* (6. 15)
18. Corsie : Corsie Y¹⁸ Corsie Z¹⁸ Corsie V¹⁸ Coirsie A¹⁵ Corsie E¹⁹ : *Corsica* (6. 41)
19. Sicil : Sicil Y²⁰ Sicil Z²⁰ Sicil V²⁴ Sigil A¹⁸ Sicil E²¹ : *Sicilia* (6. 32)
20. Reit : Reit Y²¹ Reit Z²¹ Reit V²³ Reit A¹⁹ Reit E²² : *Raetia* (4. 27)
21. Sardāin : Sardain Y¹⁹ Sardain Z¹⁹ Sardain Y²⁶ Sardain A¹⁷ Sardain E²⁰ : *Sardinia* (6. 39)
22. Magidon : Macidōin Y²⁷ Macidōin Z²⁷ Maicidōin V³⁹ Maicidōin A²⁵ Maigidon E²⁹ : *Macedonia* (4. 13)
23. Tesail : Tessail Y⁵⁴ Tessail Z⁵¹ Tessail V²⁰ (also Tesalia V⁵¹) Tesail A³⁸ Tēasail E⁴⁷ : *Thessalia* (4. 12)
24. Armein : Armēin Y³⁵ Armēin Z³⁵ Armēin V²² Armaint A³³ Armoīn E⁴¹ : *Armenia* (3. 17, 35)
25. Dalmait : Dalmait Y⁵⁸ Dalmait Z⁵⁵ Dalmait V¹¹ Dalmait A⁵⁶ Dalmait E⁵⁷ : *Dalmatia* (3. 7)
26. Romain : Rōmāin Y²⁴ Rōmāin Z²⁴ Romain V³² Romain A²² Romain E²⁵ : Possibly (Urbs) *Romana*, but most likely a corruption, induced by the influence of the name of Rome, for *Pannonia* (4. 16)
27. Rugind : Recin Y²² Rugind Z²² Rugind V³³ Reicir A²⁰ Reicil E²³ : apparently the *Rhegini* (*Etym.* IX ii 32)
28. Moisig : Masail Y²⁵ Mosin Z²⁵ Maisic V³⁸ Masgusa A²³ Massail E²⁷ : perhaps (Urbs) *Mazaca* (*Etym.* IX ii 30); not *Moesia* (4. 9), for which see no. 53 below)
29. Arboin : Narbōin Y²⁸ Narbōin Z²⁸ om. V Narmaint A²⁸ Narboin E³³ : (Urbs) *Narbona* (*Etym.* XV i 64)
30. Hisbain : Hespāin Y⁴⁸ Espāin Z⁴³ Hespania V³¹ Espan A⁴³ Esbain E⁵⁸ : *Hispania* (4. 28)
31. Gairit : Galait Y³⁶ Galait Z³⁶ Galait V⁴⁹ Galus A³⁵ Galaid E⁴⁴ : *Galatia* (3. 40)

(a) A has *Luigdin oic*, the first of several names in this version of the list provided with otiose adjectives. This is a clear indication that the *Auraicept* version of the list has been taken from a verse composition.

32. Huinusind: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Humind* V³⁴ *Amuis* A³⁴ *Amuis* E⁴²: *Phoenicia* (3. 17)

33. Saraic: *Cieir* Y¹⁵ *Cipri* Z¹⁵ *Saraic* V²⁵ (also *Cipir* V¹⁹) *Siecir* A¹⁸ *Circir* E¹² (also *Sarain* E⁵⁷): *Suraceni*^(a) (3. 29)

34. Broes: *Roid* Y²³ *Rudi* Z²³ *Broes* V³⁰ *Roait* A²¹ *Roid* E²⁴ (also *Barais* E³⁶): *Rhodos* (6. 22)

35. Brit: *Bretain* Y³² *Bretain* Z³¹ *Bretnais* V²⁹ *Britain* A²⁰ *Bretain* E³⁸: *Brittania*^(b) (6. 2)

36. Orie: *Hircain* Y¹⁴ *Hircain* Z⁴¹ *om.* V *Ireair og* A⁴¹ *Hircain* E⁵¹: a corruption of *Illyricum* (47) with influence of *Hyrcania* (*ante* no. 4)

37. Burgan: *Bragmain* Y⁶⁴ *om.* Z *om.* V *Braghmaint* A⁶¹ *Branain* E⁷¹: *Burgundiones*^(c) (*Elym.* IX ii 99)

38. Belgaig: *Belgie* Y³³ *Belgaich* Z³² *Belgaig* V²⁷ *om.* A *om.* E: *Belgia* (4. 26)

39. Mugaig: *Magoieh* Y³⁴ *Magoich* Z³⁴ *Mucaig* V³⁷ *Magoig* A³² *Maguich* E⁴⁰: the variant *Muecaid*, found in some mss. of V, suggests that this is *Mygdonia* (3. 39)

40. Boet: *Bethain* Y³¹ *Boet* Z³³ *Boet* V²⁸ *Boit* A³¹ *Boid* E³⁹ (also *Bethain* E³⁷): *Boeotia* (4. 11)

41. India: *Inneedai* Y⁶⁵ *om.* Z *India* V³⁵ *Indeeda* A⁶⁰ *Inneedai* E⁷²: *India* (3. 5)

42. Pardac: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Parthia* V⁴⁰ *om.* A *om.* E: *Parthia* (3. 8)

43. Callia: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Callia* V⁴¹ *om.* A *om.* E: *Caria* (3. 38, 42)

44. Siria: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Siria* V⁴² *om.* A *om.* E: *Syria* (3. 16)

45. Aidin (in L only): *Alain* Y⁴⁰ *Alain* Z³⁹ *om.* V *Allain* A²⁹ *Alain* E¹⁹: *Alania* (4. 3)

46. Galbat (in F only): not in any other list. A doublet of no. 31, *Galatia*

47. Acait (in F only): *Achuid* Y³⁷ *Aeit* Z³⁷ *Achait* V⁴⁵ *Acait* A³⁷ *Aehid* A⁴⁵: *Achaia* (4. 14)

48. Atheni: *Athain* Y³⁸ *Athin* Z³⁸ *Athin* V⁴⁴ *Actain* A³⁶ *Athain* E⁴⁶: *Athenae* (4. 10)

(a) Influenced by the names of *Cyprus* and of *Sicilia*.

(b) So spelt in *Isidore*, *ed.* Lindsay.

(c) Possibly influenced by the name of the Brahmans, if we could assume that the Irish compilers had ever heard of them. The name comes next to "India" in Y, A, E.

49. Albain: *Albain* Y⁴⁰ *Albain* Z⁴⁰ *Albaneas*^(a) V⁴⁶ *Alpain* A⁴⁰ *Albain* E⁵⁰: *Albania* (3. 34)

50. Saxus: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Sax* V⁴³ *om.* A *om.* E: *Saxones* (IX ii 100)

51. Ebre: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Ebra* V⁴⁷ *om.* A *om.* E: *Hebraci* (IX i 9)

52. Arlain: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Ardain* V⁴⁸ *om.* A *Ardair* E⁴⁸: *Arcadia* (4. 15)

53. Moysi: *om.* Y *Mussin* Z²⁸ *Maisi* V⁵³ *om.* A *om.* E: *Moesia* (4. 9)

54. Tracia: *Traie* Y⁵⁵ *Traie* Z⁵² *Tracia* V⁶⁰ *Traig* A⁵⁴ *Traedai* E⁶⁴: *Thracia* (4. 6)

55. Edis: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Edis* V⁶² *Edsil* A⁵² *Essill* E⁶³: unless this is meant for *Hellas* (4. 7) I cannot identify it. *Edessa* is possible, but it is not mentioned in the section of Isidore which has supplied the other names.

56. Vesogiam, *aliter* Ulsogum: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: apparently (*P)elasgi* (IX ii 74)

57. Tripolita: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: *Tripolitana* (5. 6)

58. Zeugis: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: *Zeugis* (5. 3)

59. Numa: *Nombithi* Y³⁰ *Numin* Z³⁰ *Numeid* V⁶¹ *Nombith* A²⁹ *Nobith* E³⁵: *Numidia* (5. 9)

60. Murit (in R¹ only): *Moreain* Y²⁰ *om.* Z *om.* V *Morcain* A²⁶ (also *Mair* A²⁴) *Moreain* E³⁰ (also *Inair* E²⁶ *Mair* E²⁸). *Cain* is probably an adjective which has become attached to the name: apparently a doublet of no. 14, *Mauretania*.

61. Hicail: *Etail* Y⁴² *Etail* Z⁴² *Eeail* V⁶³ *Etail* A⁴² *Itail* E⁵²: *Italia* (4. 18)

62. Gaedilg: *om.* Y *om.* Z *om.* V *om.* A *om.* E: an absurd interpolation, into a list of languages from which "Gaedilg" was said to be fashioned!

[Here H has Moishee, which should have been with no. 53 above.]

63. Media: *om.* Y *om.* Z *Media* V⁵⁴ *Moict* A⁸ *Meid* (or *Moid*) E⁵: *Media* (3. 11)

(a) Another example of the fusion of an adjective with the place-name.

64. Foirne: *om.* Y *om.* Z Foirne V⁵⁵ *om.* A *om.* E: presumably *Persida* (3. 11)

65. Grinni: Grinne Y⁴⁶ Grinne Z⁴⁵ Grinni V⁵⁷ Grinne A⁴⁶ Gruind E⁵⁶. Rendered by Meyer (*op. cit.*) "Gemeinschaft," but certainly understood by the compilers of these lists to be a name. Perhaps a corruption of *Cyrene* (5. 5)

66. Fraine: Fraine Z⁴⁷ Fraine V⁵⁶ Affraine A⁴⁷ Fraine E⁵⁸: *Franci* (IX ii 101)

67. Fresin: Fresin Y⁴⁹ Fresin Z⁴⁸ *om.* V Freisin A⁴⁸ Freisin E⁵⁹: *Fresi* (not mentioned by Isidore)

68. Longbard: Longbaird Y⁵⁰ Longbaird Z⁴⁹ Longbard V⁵⁰ Longbaird A⁴⁹ Longbaird E⁶⁰: *Langobardi* (IX ii 95)

69. Lacedemoine: Laedemōin Y⁵³ Laedemoniai Z⁵⁰ Lademoin V⁵⁸ Laiedemoine A⁵¹ Laedemoine E⁶¹: *Lacedaemonia* (4. 16)

70. Troiana: Troian Y⁵⁶ Troia Z⁵³ Troia V⁵⁰ Tragianda A⁵³ Troiannai E⁶⁵: *Troas* (3. 41)

71. Colechia: Cielaid Y¹⁶ Cielaid Z¹⁶ Colaig V⁵² Ciclait A¹⁴ Cielaid E¹⁷: *Cyclades* (6. 19), but influenced by the name of *Colchis*.

72. Caspia: a repetition of no. 11.

73. Aegipt: Egeipt Y⁶³ *om.* Z Egipt V⁶⁵ Egippta A⁵⁹ Egept E⁷⁰: *Aegyptus* (3. 27)

74. Aethioip: Etheoip Y⁶¹ *om.* Z Ethioip V⁶⁴ Eithiop A⁵⁸ Ethioip E⁶⁹: *Aethiopia* (5. 14)

The following names are found in the other lists but are omitted by P:—

75. Seuit Y³ Seuit Z³ Sgouit A³ Seuit E³: *Scoti* (IX ii 103)

76. Nordi Y²⁹ Noric Z²⁹ Nāir A²⁷ Nairn E³¹ (also Narmais E³² Norith E³⁴): *Noricus ager* (4. 5)
[At Y⁴¹ Hirēāin, a doublet of 36].

77. Guich Y⁴⁴ Guith A⁴⁴ Goiree E⁴³ (also Goith E⁵⁴ Guith E⁵⁵). Not *Gothi*, *Gothia*, for which see no. 5: perhaps their synonym *Getae* (IX ii 89), made into a separate people (compare Phrygia—Dardania, nos. 10, 12)

78. Ladaich Y⁵¹ Laidich A⁵⁰: perhaps *Lycia* (3. 38)

79. Lid Y⁵² Lodain E⁶²: perhaps *Lydia* (3. 43)

80. Daic Y⁵⁹ Daic Z⁵⁶ Daic A⁵⁷ Dacia E⁶⁸: *Dacia* (4. 3)

81. Dachi Y⁶⁰. A doublet of the last.

82. Luireedai Y⁶²: Unrecognizable; *Liguria?* (6. 41)

VERSE TEXTS.

X.

Metre: *snēdbairdne*.

306. K reads *bri co dochta* and glosses it *briathar co ttegoscc no co munadh*. All the old mss. have *brig*, which we must translate 'value,' 'sense,' 'meaning.'

XI.

Metre: *debide scāilte*.

This poem is primarily a mnemonic list of *places*, extracted from Isidore, and put into verse form with especial attention to alliteration. It is independent of the prose list associated with it, which seems to come from some other source; the two lists do not completely correspond. For fuller particulars see the notes on the prose list, above, p. 148 ff. In both lists, most, though not all, of the names have to be rendered substantivally, not adjectivally—Bithynia, Scythia, Cilicia, etc.—to represent them literally. K ignores this poem, as well as its context, nor does it appear in *Auraicept* in connexion with the list of languages. Though Kg knows of the study of languages by Feinius and his family, he makes no attempt to enumerate them.

(2) 313. *Lir* "numerous" could be rendered "populous" and applied to the name of a country, but has hardly any meaning when applied to the name of a language. 315. *Cipir*: not in prose text. See p. 152, no. 33.

(3) 319. Humind in all mss.: apparently a misreading for *Huinus* (written "Huin,"), i.e., Phoenicia. The last syllable is an iteration of the first syllable of *India* which follows: the form *Huinusind*, which appears in the prose texts, would not fit into the metre. *Araib* is not in the prose text.

(4) 322. *Albanicas* must be retained in its present form for metrical purposes, but doubtless it was originally *Alban chas*,

"pleasant Albania." This leads to the inference that the composition before us is a metrical re-grouping of the names in another verse list, written in a different metre, like those published by Kuno Meyer and referred to in the foregoing notes on the prose text. 324. *Tesalia* must be a doublet of *Tessail* in line 315.

XII.

Metre: *debide scāilte fordalach.*

337. *Scēne* = *Inber Scēne*, the Shannon estuary (see vol. i, p. xxxv). K omits this poem, but it is given by Kg (ed. I.T.S., ii, p. 28) reading *duib* for *lib* in 335. This reading (found misspelt in V) is metrically preferable.

XIII.

Metre: *debide scāilte*. Attributed to Gilla Coemain († 1072) but certainly not all the work of one hand. In the poem as originally written there is *conachland* between the successive quatrains, which is rigidly maintained throughout; and the rupture of this linkage, wherever it occurs, must indicate an interpolation. This reduces the composition to the following quatrains: 1, 9–18, 21–25, 28–39, 43. If these are read continuously, they will be found to give complete sense, and the incidents mentioned in the rejected quatrains (here partly in smaller type) can be omitted without loss or discontinuity. We can also reject quatrain 24, which merely repeats the matter of 18. Thus pruned, the poem is simply a versification of the story narrated in the R¹ version.⁵ Like R¹, it does not specifically state Gaedil's relationship to Nel. The course of the Seythian vendetta follows exactly the lines of R¹. There is, however, a divergence in the matter of the leaders of the Gaedil after their banishment: they are specified as Agnomain with his sons Allot and Lamfhind, and Eber, with his sons Caicher and Cing: here the poem differs from all the prose texts. This Eber is a brother of Agnomain and son of Tat. On "the sea of Liuis" which is unknown to R¹ (though R² borrows it from

⁵ Or preferably, *vice versa*, the R¹ story is a paraphrase of the poem.

this poem) another son of Agnomain called "Glas" is abruptly introduced to us: on this person see below, note to line 407.

In the quatrains rejected, 2–8 give us the history of the family of Feinius, with the singular episode of Nel's slaying Nenual—a Cain-and-Abel incident ignored by the prose texts. Nos. 26, 27 give us the tale of the well of wine, which in any case looks like a later addition to the story; and 40–42 enumerate the sons of Mil and of Bregon.

K has the poem, but omits quatrains 3–6 (substituting quatrain 58 of poem no. V) 26, 27, 40, 41, and has numerous variant readings. Kg presents no complete copy of the poem, but quotes several of its quatrains as occasion arises.

(2). Kg quotes this quatrain (p. 10^a), but gives as his version of the second line *Neanúl is Niúl ba hágħmhar*, a form foreign to the LG tradition. In quoting from this poem, Kg usually mentions the first line and the author; he makes an exception here, as though he were conscious that the quatrain is spurious. K gives it as in the older texts.

(3). The story told here may perhaps give us the germ of the Seythian vendetta story. Mil = Nel and slays his brother Nenual [= Refloir], and, being driven out, flees to Egypt and marries Scota. This fratricide looks like an adaptation of the Cain-Abel episode, but it is a common type of folk tale and may be original. *In läich lir*: I take *lir* to be the genitive of *ler*, though there is no other hint of an association of Feinius with the sea. But the alternative "the multitudinous hero" is meaningless, unless it refers to his descendants.

(4). This quatrain was not in K's copy of the poem, but it was in Kg's: he quotes it on p. 14 with M's reading *iars(o)in* for *trē gal*.

(5). Quoted by Kg with some slight verbal differences, possibly due to lapses of memory. He does not refer to the title or author of the poem in this case, so the stanza may not have been in his copy. It is not in K's. 358. The explanation of Gaedel's name ignores the story of the serpent.

¹ These references are to the I.T.S. edition of Keating's History, vol. ii.

(7). Here K resumes. K quotes this quatrain and the next (p. 26) with some slight differences, the only important one being *ó a thoigh* for *dia thaig* (365). 366. *Mara Romair* is the name of the sea, an adaptation of the Latin *Mare Rubrum*; *rūaid* is merely an Irish adjective, and should not be translated as a proper name.

(8) 367. For *lucht* .iii. *long* K has the unauthorized reading *cāoga lōideng*.

(9) 372. *Nenual* is to be pronounced as a dissyllable, as in 378; where *Noemius* must be trisyllable, although in 383 it is a dissyllable.

(12) 384. *Brecc* is a stock epithet for shields; see *Fled Bricrend* 45. Thus a shield becomes a standard of comparison for the quality expressed by the word.

(13) 389. For *na chrich cen chill* K has *i cerine cind*. *Chrine* also appears in L.

(14) 393. For *cen cor thim* K has *tenn-coir nar tim*, a corruption that cannot be based on any extant ms.

(15). K quotes this quatrain (Vol. II, p. 32) with trifling orthographical deviations. K has several corruptions: *ceitri* for *secht* (396), as in Min; *roglan* (397) for *co n-glor*; in 398 following L Min.

(16) 399. The older prose texts have no cognizance of *Noinel* and *Refill*, the sons of *Reflor* who drove the *Gaedil* out from *Seythia*. In 402 K again follows Min (*medrach* for *merda*).

(17) 403. *Dia* is apparently the word glossed *lōr* in an obscure poem in artificial jargon edited by Meyer (ZCP v. 484). The scribes seem to have taken it for *Dia* = God, and Min has tried to make the passage intelligible by changing *ba* to *dar*. We have seen above that the verse contradicts the prose in the matter of the names of the chieftains.

(18) 407. K reads *Elloit, Laimhfionn, Glass lonn leir tri meic . . .* It may be that the couplet originally ran thus

Allot, Lāmfind, Lāmglaſ leir,
tri meic Agnomain imrēil . . .

preserving a tradition of *three* sons of Agnomain, named in accordance with the usual custom in naming triplicities,

A + B + B'—one of the three names being independent, the others forming a “dioceseurie” assonance. We shall meet with numerous cases of this type of name-group as we proceed. Lamglas, however, disappeared, his name being taken to be an epithet of Lamfhind, and his personality being sunk in Febri [= Eber] Glas, who is elsewhere represented as a son of “Agni” [= Agnomain = Mil]. As the *variae lectiones* show, there is good evidence for the reading *tri meic* (408), and it is, on the whole, the preferable reading. But the historical theory underlying the text here adopted, without Lamglas, must have taken shape before the prose text was compiled.

(19) 411. K has a reading which gives 30, not 3, as the number of the ships.

(20) 417. There is nothing in the prose to correspond to this couplet. The whole quatrain is spurious.

(21) 419. The Libyan Sea, according to Orosius (I, ii, 97), is an alternative name for the Adriatic; but he extends the meaning of the term so far as to make the sea so designated wash the southern coast of Crete. For Coronis (422) see note on the Prose Text ¶ 130. The visit to the Libyan Sea, and Coronis, is borrowed by R² (¶ 130), but the death of [Lam]glas is not mentioned.

(22) 423. Unless “the fair island” be Coronis, proleptically mentioned in the preceding quatrain, we have no record of it anywhere in the prose texts.

(23) 429. The story of Lamfhind’s shining hands is, as we have seen, an old interpolation (probably, however, later than the incipient disappearance of his [twin]-brother Lamglas).

(24) 434. Cing is unknown to the prose text. Agnomain has now disappeared; from the prose text we learn that he died on the Caspian Sea. K has turned *lūath dar ler* into *luaiter libh*: one of several misreadings which look more like arbitrary attempts at emendation than copies of variant texts.

(25) 437. K’s reading *conerbairt riū Caicher cain* seems to be another arbitrary alteration.

(26). This quatrain and the next are certainly spurious. Not only do they break the *conachland*, but they are absent

from the earlier redactions and also from K, so that they were not even established in the text with the security of some of the other spurious quatrains. The monosyllable rhyme trēn-lēn in lines 443-4 is contrary to the metrical rule.

(27) 446. *Denmedach* is in all the mss. except M, which has *-mnedach*, correctly.

(29). In this quatrain also K has introduced several verbal changes.

(30) 455. *Co fi* glossed *co neimh*, K.

(32) 463. K again follows Min in reading *garta* for *gasta*, but Kg, who quotes this quatrain (p. 34), has *gasta*. On the other hand, K agrees with the trī chēt bliadan of 464, whereas Kg has *triochad bliadhan*. Kg has an altogether peculiar version of 465-6, *Anaid lucht diobh ann o sain, Go dti deircadh an domhain*. The text, as before, agrees with R¹ in the long sojourn at the Maeotic Marshes.

(33) 467. Kg (p. 38) reads *Brātha mac Deaghátha dil*. The seansion shows that *De-ath* is dissyllabic: the spelling in B, *Deuath*, is intended to indicate this (cf. *Deaghátha*, just quoted).

(34) 472. Allot is s. Nuadu s. Nenual in the prose texts.

(35) 475. K has a completely different version of the first three lines of this quatrain.

(36) 480. On these names, see the notes to the prose text ¶ 116.

(38) 487. For *Doriachtatar* K reads *do ernaithset*, apparently without authority.

(39) 492. For *nEspāin il-dathach* K gives us *nEspaine nughraech* and Kg *Easpáinne uallach*.

(40) 495 ff. The names enumerated in these three spurious stanzas can best be discussed when we come to them in the prose text of a later part of the book. They have no relevance in the present section.

XIV.

Metre: *sētrad fota*. The assonantal scheme is elaborate. In the four lines of a quatrain, ABCD, B-D have monosyllabic rhymes, AC end in dissyllables. In each couplet

there is alliteration, preferably between the last words of B and D. The last word of A generally alliterates with the preceding word, or with the first prominent word of B; when this does not happen, by compensation there is alliteration in the body of A, and/or two pairs of words in alliteration or three words in alliteration in B. The last word of C rhymes with the penultimate word of D. Licence to break these fetters is permitted in a quatrain containing many proper names, and the poet allows himself an occasional liberty in other cases, though it is quite possible that such lapses are due to corruption in the text. Author, Cenn Faelad († 679).

(1) 511. Here and elsewhere K reads *Golamh* for *Mild*. 513. Refloir was son of Refill s. Noemius according to the prose texts. Through the influence of Latin, Noemius becomes Noemi in the genitive (with a variety of spellings). This presently becomes nominative, Nēmān, which must be so pronounced to rhyme with glē-bān. 514. *Glas* is glossed by K *gleo uais*, which is farther glossed in a quotation in O'Reilly's Dictionary, s.v., "i.e., *gleo doiligh*, difficult combat." Possibly this interpretation improves the sense of the cheville slightly, but hardly sufficiently to justify departure from the simple meaning of the words.

(2) 515. *Ceithri*: K reads *cethracha*. 517. K completely re-writes this couplet.

(3) 522. *Folt*, "a head of hair," used here in gen. pl. of the foam-crestings of the individual waves. A poetical idea, into which the author has been betrayed by the necessity of finding a rhyme for *port*.

(4) 524. *Airecht*, glossed *curia* R.C. i 59. 526. *Aba th̄rech*, apparently a kenning for the Nile, which makes the existence of Egypt possible. K, presumably in disapproval of Egypt and the Nile being put into the west, to rhyme with *fian*, has re-written the line. 527. For *dā fer dōc* K reads *diorna*, and glosses it *nuimir no tomhus*.

(5) (6a) 533a. This couplet has become badly corrupted.
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Amorgen and Goseen have disappeared, and "do Dhond" is a bad line-ending.

(7) 536. *Ro leth a ngnai sund co sāl*, literally "their countenances spread there to the sea."

(9) 544. *Rēcsat* for *rētsat*, s-pret. of *riadaim*. "They fared in the land on the wave," i.e., over the sea.

(10) 547. This poem tells the story of the wanderings of Mil much as it has reached R², and the geography is similar. The sirens are, however, absent, as is also the propheey of Caicher. But we need not *necessarily* assume that the poem represents a stage of development before these had entered into the story: they may have been quietly dropped because even Cenn Faelad found that he could not fit them into his elaborate metre.

(11) 551. "Forty-four" battles: the prose text says fifty-four. We have evidently two divergent tales of the fighting in Spain, the one a story of three battles, one with each of the Spanish tribes, the other a story of a large number of battles against the whole population. It is the latter which is followed here.

(12) 558. *nDiss*, glossed by K *imderoile*.

(14). K omits from here to the penultimate stanza inclusive possibly because this part of the poem records matter which he had not yet touched upon in his history at the point where he introduced it. But some of the omitted stanzas are not free from suspicion of spuriousness. 565. *Lār il-lacha*, apparently "floor of many ducks"—a kenning for a sea or a lake.

(15). This is one of the stanzas which is doubtful. The regular rhyme between the ultimate of 569 and the penultimate of 570 is missing. In any case there is much uncertainty about the text of these two lines. *Scāil* (570) must be regarded as the verbal noun of *scāilim*, though the normal form is *scāiled*.

(16) 573. The reading *demin* in R³ would be preferable to *linne*, as it would give a missing alliteration: but we should lose the assonance with *rindi*. In any case this assonance

is in the wrong place, and the quatrain also is probably spurious.

(17) 576. Division into twelve parts—another Israelite reminiscence!

(18) 581. *Mōrglan* and *Fulman* do not make a good assonance; at least it is below Cenn Faelad's usual standard.

(19) 586. *Detla*, "bold," the reading in R³ gives better sense, but *tetra* gives a better alliteration, which is the more important consideration.

(20) 587. *Rāith Bethaig ac Eōir* = Rathbeagh on the Nore, Kilkenny, O.S. sheets 9, 10. The convivial statements about it are merely for metrical reasons. 589. *Rāith Aindind* was apparently in the Cualu territory, but its site is not certainly identified. 590. *Tōchar Mōr*, or in full *Tōchar Inbhir Mhōir*, the Causeway of the Avoca Estuary at Arklow; identified with Togher, Wicklow, O.S. sheet 36.

(21) 591. *Dūn Sobairci*, Dunseverick, Antrim, O.S. sheet 3. 593. *Delginis*, etc. Hogan, *Onom.* s.v. "Delinis," translates *iar suilgi* as "West of Suilge," but makes no attempt to identify this supposed place. But in fact *suilig* means "easy, gentle" (see *Tecosca Cormaic* ed. Meyer s.v. in vocabulary) and *iar suilgi* is a mere cheville, parallel to *iar n-ōl* in the previous quatrain. Delginis is Dalkey, near Dublin, O.S. sheet 23. 594. *Dūn Etair* was somewhere in the promontory of Howth, Dublin, O.S. sheet 15, 16, 19.

(22) 595. *Rāith Arda Sūird*, identified by Hogan with Rathurd, Limerick, O.S. sheet 14. 596. *Dūn mBindi*: not identified. 597. *Rāith Rīgbaird*, vaguely identified by Hogan with a large fort east of Easky, townland of Carrow Mably, Sligo, O.S. sheet 12. 598. *Dūn Cairich*, not identified.

(23) 599. *Nar*: identification doubtful.

XV.

Metre: *debide scāilte*.

This poem calls for no special notice: it is merely a paraphrase of the prose passage with which it is associated,

composed for mnemonic purposes after the prose had evolved into the form in which we have it.

XVI.

Metre: *debide scāilte*, with concessions to *ōglachas* in the end rhymes of quatrains 3, 5. Also in *Auraicept* (ed. Calder, pp. 171-2), but in a very different version, with the quatrains in this order—4123, 5 being omitted. The first couplet of this quatrain is preserved in $\mu\wedge\mu R$ only: B ends the poem with a six-line stanza made up of quatrain 4 and the last couplet of 5. In M quatrains 4 and 5 were omitted from the text and were added in the top margin of the page, whence they have been cut off by a bookbinder, leaving only the word *diamair* and the last couplet of quatrain 5. The first couplet of 5 is preserved by Min only.

XVII.

Metre: a rather free *debide scāilte*.

XVIII.

This poem is not in K, but it is quoted with a different text by Kg (vol. ii, p. 18). The last two quatrains are omitted by Kg.

(1) 655. *G.G. cionnus do rádh* Kg. 656. *Crithir*: the ordinary meaning "fearful, trembling" does not seem to be applicable here. The word also means "a spark," and might here be treated as gen. pl. "the man of sparks," "sparkling man." But this hardly seems satisfactory. Dinneen translates the word "brilliant" in Keating, but does not acknowledge the existence of such a meaning in his dictionary.

657. *An ní ó bhfuil G.G. Is tearc ga bhuil a seanchas* Kg. (2) 659. This quatrain reappears in Kg with slight changes only. The story of the serpent is obviously quite different from that in the prose texts of LG. Kg takes it into his history as an alternative version.

(3) 665. *Is eadh thuigid eolaigh as Gonadh de atá G.G.*, Kg.

XIX.

Metre: *debide imrind*, obscured by a corruption in the LG texts. Kg (Vol. ii, p. 42) reads *thall* for *trell* at the end of the third line, which mends the metre and gives better sense. K has the same reading.

XX.

Metre: *debide scāilte*. Author "Conaing" according to Kg.

Quoted by Kg, p. 46, with only one important variant (*go ngliaadh* for *dar Dia* in line 683): also by K, with close kinship to the text in the R² group of mss. In this text it does not appear in the present section, but is postponed to § VIII. The poem calls for no special comments, being merely a list of names alternating with rhyming chevilles.

SECTION III.

CESSAIR.

Introduction.

With this section begins the interpolation which breaks into the "history" of the development of the Milesians and of their Taking of Ireland—as described in the introduction, vol. i, p. xxxv ff. We have seen that it formed no part of the original text, but that it was an independent document, and was known as such to Nennius.

It falls primarily into two parts, easily separated from one another: primarily, for each component can be further analysed. The first relates to certain legendary invasions before the Flood: the second to a number of stories—or, rather, of variants of one story—of invasions after the Flood. Nennius does not seem to have known of the first of these, so that we may infer that his copy of the book did not contain it: and it is important to note that it is entirely ignored by Min. This points to the further inference, which is also indicated by the loose connexion between the component parts, that they were originally independent documents.

As names are required for these two documents, we shall call the first *Pericope Antediluvianorum*, an expression whose convenience may condone its incompatibility with classical propriety. The second we shall call *Liber Praecursorum*. For reference we shall abbreviate these names to PA and LP respectively. The composite book, which consists of these two elements, we shall call *Liber Originum*, abbreviated to LO.

LO is by far the most valuable portion of LG. The first part, PA, is a cosmogony: the second, LP, is a series of successive variations of a theogony, with ritual elements interspersed. Though badly mangled by uncomprehending redactors, it gives us one of the most extensive collections

of European pre-Christian theology, ritual, and mythology that any non-classical literature can afford.

PA itself, even in its oldest available form, is obviously composite, consisting of different elements very loosely flung together. The limits of the separate documents are shown by the following analysis.

First Redaction.

¶ 166. As will appear in the notes, this ¶ is no part of PA: it is undoubtedly part of the original LG, and formed the only acknowledgement which that document contained of the pre-Milesian invaders. The original author of LG was writing a "history" specifically of the Milesians, and their predecessors interested him only in so far as they accounted for the opposition offered, to the Milesian landing, by the aborigines. For probable interpolations see the notes.

¶ 167. An excerpt from the "Quire of Druim Snechta" (*Cin Droma Snechta*), giving an independent account of the story of the Antediluvians. In F*Q, but not in L, and certainly no original part of PA. The opening words (as is demonstrated in the notes) belong, not to this excerpt, but to PA.

¶ 168. An excerpt, professedly from a different source, also peculiar to F*Q, telling the story of the Spanish fishermen.

¶ 169. Here we have (1) a fragment of the original PA, headed in L by the opening words of LO. This settles the otherwise unanswerable question whether PA had or had not been already combined with LP when the latter was inserted into LG. The simple form of PA is preserved in L (in a mutilated form, see the notes): "F has here interpolated a long description of Cessair's voyage.

¶ 170. Continues the original PA, following on the tale of Noah's summary dismissal of Cessair and her followers which is common to the extant manuscripts of R¹. It narrates in the briefest form their landing at Dūn na mBare, and their subsequent fates.

¶ 171 has nothing original to PA. The sentence *Ni rogab nech . . . ndilinn sin* must belong to LO, and is meant to

confirm the compiler of that document in his judgement in excising the pre-Cessair "takings." The poem containing the names of the women is an interpolation, as is shown by the variant versions of the matter introducing it, and by the fact that no prose text based upon it is included in this Redaction.

Thus the redaction consists of the following elements:—

From LG: ¶ 166.
 From PA: Heading of ¶ 167; one sentence in ¶ 169; ¶ 170.
 From LO: Heading of ¶ 169 in L; end of ¶ 171.
 From the Quire of Druim Snechta: ¶ 167.
 From other, miscellaneous sources: ¶¶ 168, 169 (in F), 171.

Second Redaction.

¶ 172. A modified form of ¶ 166 from LG, harmonized with LO.

¶ 173. A parallel to ¶ 168, but in different words and from a different source.

¶ 174. A very composite paragraph, as the introduction shows. "Saball s. Manual" comes abruptly into view; it is evidently assumed that the reader knows all about him. The very pointlessness of the allusion suggests that he held some prominent position in the original version of the Cessair saga. In Keating, at least in the mss. followed in the printed text, he appears, in a quatrain here quoted as poem XXVI, under the form "Saball s. Nionuall." It is conceivable that this is correct, and that we are to identify Nionuall, in spite of the double *l* (which, however, is not written uniformly) with the *Nenual* of whom we have heard in connexion with the tower of Babel. This would link Cessair's foster-father with the long chain of enigmatical warring kings in Seythia, for whom no terrestrial identification, either in history or in recorded mythology, can be suggested: and leads to the further inference that in their names we may have the skeleton of some unknown saga of a War in Heaven—one of the doubtless innumerable mythologies, once current among the welter of tribes in Neolithic and Bronze Age Northern Europe, but now passed irrecoverably into oblivion.

¶ 175. R² has re-written the story presumably under the influence of other sources. In both R¹ and R² the purpose of the voyage is to escape the Flood: but in R¹ the suggestion comes from Noah, in R² from druids; in R² the destination is vague, in R² Ireland is specifically mentioned: and in R² the absence of serpents in Ireland, thus ensuring a continuation of Eden-purity, is given as a reason for expecting a sanctuary there. Is it possible that we have lost a story of the appearance of a *piast* which robbed the country of its state of grace? Has Keating's queer story of the visit of the "three daughters of Cain" got any bearing upon this possibility? A reader of \sqrt{V} has been studying the Quire of Druim Snechta or some derivative therefrom, and has inserted the marginal note which has been taken into the beginning of this paragraph. It does not appear elsewhere in the extant mss. of R², though it probably was in Δ , in which this portion is now missing.

¶ 176. On this paragraph see the notes (at the end of the text) to ¶ 169.

¶ 177. Comparison with ¶ 170 is instructive. Obviously the same document (PA) underlies both: but, in the form in which R² presents it, it has been almost doubled in length by interpolations, and very nearly promoted to the rank of an independent text. The additional "facts" are—

1. The date, 40 days before the Flood.
2. The important topographical augmentation (*Irrus Deseircit Corco Duibne*) commented upon in the notes to ¶ 170.
3. The additional date, A.M. 1656 (diverging from the annalistic calculation, A.M. 2242).
4. The alternative versions of the cause of death of Ladra, ignored in R¹.
5. Fintān's genealogy, connecting him with Bith and Lamech; and the explanation of Bochra as his mother's name.

To these we may add

6. (Narrated in ¶ 178) the bare fact that the three men shared the 50 women, which does not appear to have been in the original PA, but has been imported

through the influence of Poem XXV. In R¹ this poem is quoted for the names of the women: in R² their distribution among the men has become the centre of interest.

¶ 178. See preceding note, no. 6.

¶ 179. PA, as represented by R², here ends; but a different version of the same story is now tacked on to it. This is certainly based on the PA story, but it has undergone so many transformations that it must be treated as an independent document. For purposes of reference we shall call the Cessair story in ¶ 174–178 C^a, and that in ¶ 179–183 C^b.

¶ 184, 185 are further interpolations; the first apparently from the original LG (see the notes), giving chronological details; the second containing the legend of the resurrection of Fintān.

R², then, is composed of the following elements:—

From LG—¶ 172 (modified), 184.

From PA—C^a ¶ 174–178 (with numerous alterations and interpolations).

Based upon PA—C^b ¶ 179–183, a version so much worked over as to be a new document.

From other sources—fragmentary notes in ¶ 173, 184, 185, in addition to various odds and ends of interpolation here and there.

Third Redaction.

As in the previous sections, the Third Redaction is a pastepot-and-scissors combination of R¹ and R², almost its only value being that it gives us independent texts of both the preceding versions. As before, we set forth its construction in tabular form, marking with * paragraphs from R¹, with † those from R².

*¶ 186 = ¶ 166. Closer to R¹ than to R² ¶ 172: differing from both in making the Gaileoin and the Fir Domnand *contemporary*.

*¶ 187. The F*Q excerpt from the Book of Druim Snechta, ¶ 167. An interpolation describing the Flood inserted in the middle.

*¶ 188. The F*Q excerpt, describing the three fishers, ¶ 168.

*†¶ 189. The F*Q heading of ¶ 169. Interpolation about Saball borrowed from R² ¶ 174.

¶ 190 = ¶ 179. Here R³ jettisons all the versions but C^b and follows it exclusively (with numerous corruptions and interpolations, especially in M).

*¶ 191 = ¶ 180, 169. Continuation of C^b for the first sentence, and then returning to R¹ for the details of the voyage, omitted by R² from his text of C^a. Noah's command to make the voyage is reproduced, though the *lām-dia* had already given his orders!

*¶ 192 = ¶ 169. Continuation of R¹'s account of the voyage.

*†¶ 193 = ¶ 170. Description of the landing at Dūn na mBare. Goes back to ¶ 193, R², for fuller details about Ladra's death. M inserts an isolated episode about Bath s. Bith, not found elsewhere.

†¶ 194 = ¶ 180 ad fin., 181. Returns to C^a and copies it slavishly, including the abrupt termination with “¶ rl”.

†¶ 195 = ¶ 182. Continuation of C^b.

†¶ 196 = ¶ 183. ditto.

¶ 197. A superfluous list of the women, compiled from poem XXV. The last sentence comes from R¹ (¶ 171).

¶ 198. Synchronistic matter, derived from an early chronicle much used in the subsequent sections of LO.

It is obvious that the Cessair story stands on a different footing from the subsequent tales of invasion. These are tales of a history, or rather of a theogonia—no doubt misinterpreted, but to be accepted and criticised as historical legend. The Cessair tale, however, is essentially cosmogonic.

The significance of the heroine's name is obscure (it appears once again as that of Cessair Cruthach, daughter of a "king of France" and wife of King Ugoine): but those of her associates are clear enough. She is the daughter of Bith, that is of "life," "world," or "universe"; and her companion Fintān the deathless is son of Bochna or "ocean." They form a sort of Deucalion-and-Pyrrha couple, and, like their prototypes, they are associated with a great Flood. There is no room for doubt that the Cessair legend is a tattered fragment of a Flood myth, such as is told almost universally throughout the world.¹ The story usually follows a uniform course: Deity determines to destroy mankind, but instructs a favoured mortal to make a ship for his own salvation: the Flood comes and departs, and the ship grounds on a hill: by certain devices, which differ with different stories, the world is re-peopled.

The LG editors knew of no great Flood but the Hebrew version, enshrined in the Book of Genesis; and they were obliged therefore to link the Irish "Deucalion and Pyrrha" with the family of Noah. This is, of course, a mere impertinence, and may be entirely ignored in reconstructing the original form of the tale. Here some Being—quite possibly Sabhall mae Manuail—through the medium of an oracular fetish, warns Cessair and Fintān, the cosmogonic pair, of the coming of a Flood. In one (or three) ships they escape, and ultimately come to ground on a mythical hill called (from the circumstance) Dūn na m-Bare, the Fortress of the Ships (in the plural) which corresponds to Noah's Ararat and to Deucalion's Parnassus. It is not necessarily a sea-coast eminence: "in Coreo Duibne" may be dismissed as an early gloss of no authority: the original story-tellers most probably supposed that it was somewhere near the confluence of the three rivers, Nore, Barrow, and Suir. For unless these three rivers have some correspondence with the three couples who led the expedition, it is difficult to see why they are introduced into the story at all. It is not a fatal objection to this hypothesis that the grounding of Cessair's ark on *her* Ararat must in that case have been proleptic,

¹ A comparative study of this legend, with numerous references, will be found in Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, i, 104-361.

preceding the actual advent of the Flood: otherwise the ship could not have sailed to an inland Dūn na m-Bare. Unquestionably this anomaly is a result of editorial manipulation. In the original (pagan) legend Cessair must have survived her Flood: in fact, her voyage to Ireland is essentially her flood-voyage. But when it was ascertained on inspired authority that no one in the world had been saved from the Flood except Noah and his family, it became necessary to make Cessair and her exploits uncompromisingly antediluvian.

We now understand the significance of the fifty² women who were in her company. Originally they were the mothers of the various nations of the earth, the list being a LO counterpart of the list of languages in the preceding section: their names are badly corrupted, but some of them are suggestive of an eponymous significance. And undoubtedly Cessair is the *Magna Mater* of the Irish people. Although her name does not seem to be used eponymously, that of her doublet, Banba, is a well-known by-name of Ireland: Mae Firbis, in his preface to *Chronicum Scotorum*, calls her *Heriu no Berba no Cesar*: and a glossator of M has inserted the words "i. Erc" above the name of Cessair, in almost every place where it occurs.

The identity of Cessair with Ériu is underlined in the story of the Adventures of Tadg mac Céin,³ where that personage is represented as being greeted by Cessair (who here shares the immortality of Fintān) with precisely the same sentence—"it is long since thy coming was prophesied"—with which Ériu greets the arriving Milesians in a later section of LG.

Naturally a story such as this cannot be torn from its context and forced into its present incongruous situation without leaving many loose ends no longer to be explained. Bath son of Bith, who appears in an interpolation in M, is one of these. *Dindsenchas* knows of two women, companions of Cessair, Fraechnat who is buried in Sliab Fraech,⁴ and Eba, a she-leech, who rashly went to sleep on the shore called

² Or three fifty, according to the *Druim Sneachta Banba* story.

³ *Silva Gadelica*, i, 348, ii, 391.

⁴ Gwynn, *Metrical Dinds*, iv. 254.

Traig Eba, and was drowned in the rising tide⁵—doubtless, in the original story, one of the victims of the Flood. These persons do not appear in the LG list of Cessair's companions, unless we are to find them in Feochair and Abba respectively, who appear in the list of women. Undoubtedly Adna [=ancient] son of Bith, though he is transferred by historical compilers to a post-diluvian era, was originally of the company of the flood-heroes: conceivably he was a doublet of [L]adra.

Earnest believers in a universal Flood are faced with the difficulty of accounting for the perpetuation of antediluvian history across the catastrophe; and they dream of inscriptions on imperishable materials (as in Giraldus, *Top. Hib.*, iii. 1, Keating, I, v. 4, and see *ante*, vol. i, pp. 158, 254). Perhaps the Irish expedient of resurrecting Fintān and giving him a measure of immortality is as good as any, though Keating and the Annals of Clonmaenois recognise that it is contrary to the infallible testimony of Scripture.

The grotesque story of the flight of Fintān may possibly be included as a mockery of the unorthodox tales related of him: but it is also conceivable that there is a didactic purpose in the contrast between the long-lived Fintān, who avoids the women, and the short-lived Ladra, who is guilty of excess.

It is shown in the notes to ¶ 168 that the Capa story is primarily dioscuric. According to poem XXII one of these persons was a wright, and another a leech—two of the chief occupations of the Diisceiri.⁶ But the *p* in the first name arouses suspicion that here at least we have artificial manipulation at work. And the statement that they took away "three handfuls of green grass" (*Book of Fenagh*, p. 50) does not help much; still less the note to the printed text of that document that "in some of the bardic accounts" [unspecified] "of the Colonizations of Ireland," they "are stated to have carried away with them a sod cut from the soil of Ireland as if in token of a right of possession." It is probably of importance, for a complete study of the origin and mutual connexion of all these legends, that the same

⁵ Gwynn, *Metrical Dinds*, iv, 292.

⁶ See J. R. Harris, *The Diisceiri in the Christian Legends*, p. 61.

action is attributed to "Adna" in a set of verses quoted by Keating (I, vi, 1).

A few words will be all that is necessary to summarize the later texts of K and Kg.

Kg gives us the stories of the Three Daughters of Cain, of Banba (as in ¶ 167), and of the Three Fishers, which are ignored by K. In dealing with Cessair, both compilers follow C^a (¶ 179) in the story of Noah's repulse of the suppliants and their recourse to the *lām-dia*. For the details of the voyage, K goes back to C^a (¶ 176); Kg does so also, but he leaves out the itinerary, adds up the stages, and says that the whole journey lasted 7½ years. From the landing at Dūn na mBare the two narratives run parallel; K looks back to C^a for the manner of the death of Ladra (omitting the alternative story of the oar), while Kg follows C^a in passing it over. Kg, while properly sceptical about the survival of Fintān, quotes an interesting verse naming four learned men in the four quarters of the world at the time of the Flood, to wit Finntān, Ferōn, Fors, Andōid son of Ethōr. Ethōr reappears as one of the triad which closes the dynastic line of the Tūatha Dē Danann: in Ferōn and Andōid we recognise with little difficulty two of the alleged sons of Nemed, called in the present compilation Fergus and Ainnind. We must expect, and we shall find throughout our study, a wide range of corruption in proper names, which have no generally known signification to keep them to a standard form, and which are peculiarly liable to arbitrary alteration.

SECTION III.

First Reduction.

L 2 γ 47: F 4 β 3.

166. ¹Seuireni ²i fecht-sa² || do seelaih na ³n(Gāede) 'eo ro ainsnide do na seeht⁴ tūnathaib ⁵ro gabsat Hērind rempo.⁵ Ro gab ⁶ēm Cessair ⁷ingen Beatha meic ⁸Nōe, cethracha ⁹lā rīa ndilind. ¹⁰Partholōn mac Sera, ¹¹tri chēt bliadan ¹²iar ndilind. ¹³Nemed mae ¹⁴Agnomain do Grēcaib ¹⁵Seithia, i eind trichat ¹⁶m bliadan iar ¹⁷Partholōn. Fir Bolg ¹⁸iarsain. Fir Domnann ¹⁹iarsain. ²⁰Galiōin ²¹iarsain. ²²Tuatha Dē Danann ²³iartain: ²²unde Fintān cecinit,

Hēriu cia siarfaigther dim.

L

F

167.

Cia didida cia [sic]
ragab Erinn iar tusmid
talman?

Is ed isbert Lebar Droma
Snechta^(a) comad Banba ainm
na eed ingine fogabad Erinn
ria nilind, i.e. comad uaithi
nobet Banba for Erinn. Tri
éocait ogh do dechaid γ triar
fer. Ladra in tres fer, is e
eed marb Erenn insin: is nad

166. (variants from F) ¹seuirim ²⁻²om. ³ngil with aed sprs. ye F
⁴⁻⁴ifftsam corntsnelem don uii, ⁵⁻⁵rogabasad (second a expanded)
Erinn rompo ⁶am ⁷ingen Beatha ⁸Nae ⁹om. la ¹⁰rubbed in L;
might also be alun. O'Curry's transcript has -alon, but the two vowels are
certainly identical. ¹¹tri ecc. ¹²ria, the r afterwards erased ¹³Nemid

166. Let us cease [at this point] from the stories of the Gaedil, that we may tell of the seven peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe took it, forty days before the Flood. Partholon s. Sera three hundred years after the Flood. Nemed s. Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia, at the end of thirty years after Partholon. The Fir Bolg thereafter. The Fir Domnann thereafter. The Gailioin thereafter [al., along with them]. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The sons of Mil thereafter as Fintan said]. *Unde Fintan cecinit,*

Poem no. XXI.

167.

Now, who (was the first
who) took Ireland after
the creation of the world?

This is what the Book of
Druim Snechta says, that
Banba was the name of the
first woman who found Ireland
before the Flood, and that
from her Ireland is called
“Banba.” With threee fifty
maidens she came, and with

¹¹ Agnon L Agnamaid F ¹² Seithiedai (the h dot ye F) ¹³ om. m. L
¹⁷ Parthalan ¹⁸ iartain ¹⁹ iarsin ²⁰⁻²⁰ Gailiuin maraen rusiden
²¹ airsim ²² meic Milid iarsin amail isbert Fintan.

(a) Written Dromas nechta.

ainmnigter Ard Ladrann,
Cetracha bliadan badar is an
indsi: dosainic iaram galar,
conerbaitar uili an aen
sechtmair. Da eet bliadan
iarsin do bi Eriu can aen duine
beo, eon iaram tainie dili.
Cethracha la 7 bliadain ro bi
Ere fo dilind. I einn tri eet
mbliadan iarum rosgab Partha-
lon Erenn: trebastar sin
cóica bliadan ar cóie cét,
condaselgadar Concind, conna-
terna † uarthid || nech dia
chlaind i mbethu. Tricha
bliadan iaram can duine i
mbethaид an Erinn.

168.

Mad iar n-araili slícht imorro, is
iad se certa ro la for Erinn ria-
ndilind, i. Cappa 7 Luasad 7
Laigne; † acht chena ni hairmid
<Lebor> Gabala iad, ar nir
aittrebsad iat[h] Erenn ||. Is ed
so imorro dosfuc a n-Erinn: a
techt do iascach for muir, co ra seit
in gaeth o Espain co Erinn. Soised
fritasi co Espain for cenn a man,
do tiachtain do aittrebad Erenn.
O do riachtatar Erinn doris,
dosfarraid in dili, corasbaidh oc
Tuaig (a) Indber: conad dib do
can in file,

Cappa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

three men. Ladra, one of the
three men, he is the first dead
man of Ireland at that time:
from him is named Ard
Ladrann. Forty years were
they in the island: thereafter
a disease came upon them, so
that they all died in one week.
Afterward Ireland was for two
hundred years without a living
person and thereafter came the
Flood. A year and forty days
was Ireland under the Flood.
At the end of three hundred
years thereafter, Partholon
took Ireland: he dwelt there
five hundred and fifty years,
till the Cynocephali drove him
out, and there escaped [sur-
vived] not one of his children
alive. For thirty years after
that there was not a man living
in Ireland.

168.

If we follow another version,
however, these are the first who
came over Ireland before the Flood,
Capa, and Luasad, and Laigne;
[howbeit, (the Book) of Taking
does not reckon them, for they
did not settle in the land of
Ireland]. Now this is what
brought them into Ireland; their
coming upon the sea for fishing,
so that the wind blew them from
Spain to Ireland. They came back
again to Spain to fetch their wives,
to come and settle in Ireland.
When they reached Ireland once
more, the Flood overtook them and
drowned them at Tuad Inbir: so
that of them the poet sang

Poem no. XXII.

(a) Written *ottuairg*, and the first † scratched down into c.

L

169. *Incipit de Gabalaib Herend.* Rosgab iarum Cessair ingen Betha meic Noe, *ut poeta dixit*, cethracha laa ria ndilind.

Is ē ¹foehond a ²tiachtana, ar ³teched na ⁴dilend : ñair asbert ⁵Nōe friū : Ērgid, ar sē, co ⁶himmel ëartharach in domain : bēs ⁷noco ria in ⁸diliu.

F

Cesair ingin Beatha meic Nae, is i ⁹dog[ab] Erinn ar tus, cethracha laithi ria ndilind, † mad iarsin slight doluid-sem sunn. ||

Dia Mairt iaram, 7 xu, fuirri, ro gluais o hindsi Morohen for sruth Nil in Eift. Bai deich bliadan in Eift. Fiche tra[th] dhi ar muneind Mara Caisp. Da trath deg di for Muir Caisp co riacht in Muir Cimirda. Aen trath di in Aissia Bic, co Muir Torrian. Seolad fiche trath di co Sliabh nElpa. Fri re nae trath di asen co Spain. Seoladh nōi trath di o Esbain co Erinn. Cōie uathad, for Satharnn, amail isbert in fili,

Cessair canas tāinic sī.

169. ¹ fochaind ² tidecht ³ teichid ⁴ dilind ⁵ Nae do raid friu eirgid ase (sic) ⁶ himell iartarach. O'Curry's transcript of L omits the

169. *Incipit de The Takings of Ireland.* Thereafter Cessair daughter of Bith s. Noe took it, *ut poeta dixit*, forty days before the Flood.

This is the reason for her coming, fleeing from the Flood : for Noe said unto them : Rise, said he, [and go] to the western edge of the world : perchance the Flood may not reach it.

Thereafter, on Tuesday, dated the fifteenth, she set forth from the island of Meroe upon the river Nile in Egypt. She was ten years in Egypt. Twenty days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twelve days had she on the Caspian Sea till she reached the Cimmerian Sea. One day had she in Asia Minor, to the Torrian Sea. A sailing of twenty days had she to the Alpine Mountain : for a space of nine days had she thence to Spain. A sailing of nine days had she from Spain to Ireland. A unitary five [=the fifth day of the month], on Saturday [she landed], as the poet said,

Poem no. XXIII.

very conspicuous lenition-mark in iartarach. ⁷co ⁸dile ⁹ab om. in MS.: in marg. ^b (sic) written faintly.

170. Lucht trī ¹mbare dosrala do Dūn na mBare ²hi crīch ³Coreo Duibne. Ro ⁴bāttea dī baire ⁵dīb. Tērna Cessair, lucht ⁶a ⁷bairce, i. cōica ingen ⁷ triar fer: ⁸i. Bith mac ⁹Nōe, diatā sliab Betha—is ¹⁰and ro hadnacht, i ¹¹earn mōr ¹²Slēbe Betha; ¹³Ladru lūam, diatā Ard ¹⁴Ladrand—is ē ¹⁵cētña marb ¹⁶dochōid fo ūir ¹⁷Hērenn: Fintān mae ¹⁸Bochra, diatā ¹⁹Fert Fintān ōs ²⁰Tul Tuinne. Atbath Cessair i ²¹Cūil Chesra la Connachta, cona cōicait ingen.

171. Ité inso a n-anmand-side, *ut Fintan cecinit*

Amail i[s]bert in fili

Cethracha trāth don tūr tind.

Is iat so imorro anmanda in cōicat ingin do badar a fail Cessrach, *ut Fintan cecinit*

Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

¹Nī rogab nech ²trā do ³śil Adaim ⁴Hērind rīa ⁵ndilind acht ⁶sain.

Second Redaction.

V 3 a 32: E 2 γ 3: R 76 B a 13: D 5 a 6.

172. ¹Scuirem do scēlaib na ²nGāidel ³‡ fodessta || ⁴eo ro ⁵aisnedem do na cōic ⁶tūathai ⁷ro gabat ⁸Erind rempu. ⁹Ro gab Cessair ¹⁰rempu, || i. ¹¹ingen ⁹Betha meic Nōe [‡] meic ¹²Lāniach ||, cethracha ¹³lā rīa ¹⁴ndilind. Rosgab

170. ¹marc dorala ²a ³Orea ⁴baita da ⁵dibh ⁶this a om. O'Curry, wrongly. In F luchta bairei is written instead of the more usual lucht abairei ⁷ci ⁸in, the ⁹for m yc F ¹⁰Nae F ¹¹an (sprs. yc F) do ¹¹earn ¹²Sleibi ¹³Ladra luaim ¹⁴ann ¹⁵c. ¹⁶dochuaid ¹¹Er. ¹⁶written b ea F ¹⁹Firt ²⁰Tul Tuindi ²¹Carnn Cuili Cessrach la Connachtaib a coicait ingen.

170. The crew of three ships arrived at Dun na mBare in the territory of Coreo Duibne. Two of the ships were wrecked. Cessair with the crew of her ship escaped, fifty women and three men: Bith s. Noe, of whom is Sliab Betha (named)—there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Betha; Ladra the pilot, of whom is Ard Ladrand—he is the first dead man who went under the soil of Ireland; Fintan s. Bochra, of whom is “Fintan’s Grave” over Tul Tuinde. Cessair died in Cul Cessrach in Connachta, with her fifty maidens.

171. These are their names, *ut Fintan cecinit* As the poet said
Poem no. XXIV.

Now these are the names of the fifty maidens that were in Cessair’s company, *ut Fintan cecinit*

Poem no. XXV.

None of the seed of Adam took Ireland before the Flood but those.

172. Let us cease [now] from the stories of the Gaedil, that we may tell of the five peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair took [before them]—d. Bith s. Noe [s. Lamech], forty days before the Flood.

171. *The words Ité . . . cecinit look like an insertion in L* ¹nir gabh ²om, ³chlaind ⁴Erinn ⁵ndilin ⁶sin.

172. ¹scuirium V ²nGoedheal E nGāidel R nGoedel D ³fodessta D fodessta ER ⁴go E ⁵dim V faisnedem R aisneidem ED ⁶thu E ⁷dogab- D ⁸H- DE (rempo E) ⁹-ros gab em Cessair ingen R. *Apparently* roscab E, but the word obscured by an injury to the MS. ¹⁰rempo E rempa D ¹¹ingen E ¹²looks like Lāniach V ¹³laithe R ¹⁴inn D

¹⁵Partholōn i cind aen bliadna dece ar trī ectaib īarom. Nemed rosgab ¹⁶īarom, ¹⁷iar trichait bliadan. Fir Bole īarom, ¹⁸iar dā cēt bliadan. || Tuatha Dē ¹⁹Danann īarom. ²⁰Gāidil ²¹īarsin, usque ad finem mundi. ||

²¹Hēriu cia īiarfaighther dim.

173. ¹Asberat ²araile ³combeth gabāil ⁴an ⁵Erind rīa Cessair, ⁷i. ⁸Cappa ⁹ ¹⁰Laigne ¹¹ ¹²Luassat, triar ¹³iascaire do lucht na Hespāine ¹⁴dochomlaiset eo Hērinn: co ¹⁵faccatar a suthaighe, co ro ¹⁶midraiset techt ar ¹⁷cūlu ar ¹⁸cend a trī mban. ¹⁹Te tintud ²⁰dōib, ²¹dosfarraid ²²diliu ²³corusbāidh ²⁴hic ²⁵Tuaid Inbir, ⁷ni ²⁶fargabsat ²⁷clanda. *De quibus hoc carmen dicitur.*

Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

174. Do gabāil ¹Cessrach ²andso ³sīs, ⁴γ dia scēlaib ⁵rīa ndilimn. ⁴ Ceist: Cia ⁶ecta rogab Hērinn ar ⁷tūs, ⁶tar ⁸tustin talman? Ninsa. ⁹Cessair, ingen Bētha meic Nōe meic ¹⁰Lāmiach, dalta-¹¹side ¹²Saball meic ¹³Manūail, *ut* ¹⁴*dicitur*

Cessair ingen Bētha bāain.

175. ¹Asberat araile comad Banba aīnn na hingine sin rogab Īrinn rīa ndilind, ⁷comad ūaithi nobeth Banba for Īrinn. ¹

Doluid ²Cessair ³īarom ⁴a Hindsi ⁵Meroēn ar ⁶teched na ⁷dilend, ar ba ⁸dōig ⁹lese dū na ¹⁰rāncatar ¹¹dōimi riām ¹²cossin, ⁷nach dērnad ¹³ole na ¹⁴himurbus, ⁷ro

¹⁵-tol R: hi for i ERD ¹⁶om. E ¹⁷iarndib ectaib bl. E ¹⁸Danond E Don- D ¹⁹Goidhil E Goidil R ²⁰īarsin E ²¹this poem in V only.

173. ¹assb- V asp- D ²aroile ED araili R ³gombeith E combeith R ⁴ind ER in D ⁵Horind D ⁶Cesair VR ⁷om. i. R ⁸Cappa ER ⁹γ yo D ¹⁰-gh- E ¹¹om. i. R ¹²Luassatt E Luasat R ¹³iascairel V iasgaire D ¹⁴-omh- E dochumlaisetar R ¹⁵faccatt- E facatar RD ¹⁶midraiset E -uis- D ¹⁷cula R ¹⁸cenn DR ¹⁹ic tintudh V ic tinntiud E oe tinntud R ²⁰the b dotted, but probably without significance D ²¹-uid D ²²ins. an R ²³-ros- DER -baid D ²⁴ic E oc R ²⁵Tuaidh V

Partholon took it, at the end of three hundred and eleven years thereafter. Nemed took it thereafter, after thirty years. The Fir Bolg thereafter, [after two hundred years]. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The Gaedil thereafter, usque ad finem mundi.]

Poem no. XXI.

173. Others say that there was a taking in Ireland before Cessair, to wit Capa, Laigne, and Luasat, three fishermen of the folk of Spain, who came together to Ireland: they saw its fertility, and decided to come back for their three wives. When they returned, the Flood came upon them, and drowned them at Tuad Inber, and they left no progeny. *De quibus hoc carmen dicitur,*

Poem no. XXII.

174. Of the Taking of Cessair here below, and of the tales told of her before the Flood. Who first took Ireland in the beginning, after the Creation of the World? Cessair, daughter of Bith s. Noe s. Lamech; fosterling was she of Saball s. Manual, *ut dicitur,*

Poem no. XXVI.

175. Others say that Banba was the name of that woman who took Ireland before the Flood, and that from her Banba is a name that Ireland has.

Cessair came thereafter from the Island of Meroe, fleeing from the Flood: for she thought it probable that a place where men had never come till then, where no

¹⁶Tuaid E Tuaig D ²⁶Farec- E farec- R Fareabsat D ²⁷clanna R ²⁸om. R.

174. ¹Cesrach VRD Chessarach E ²insō E annso R so D ³siss V ⁴-⁵om. EDR ⁶iar n- V ⁷-⁸cet gabail rogab Eri and om. ar tus R

⁹thus E ¹⁰second t dotted without meaning V. tuustin ER thustin D ¹¹Cesair R ¹²Laimach R ¹³sidhe V ¹⁴-abb- E ¹⁵-naill R ¹⁶dx D.

175. ¹-in V only ²Cesair R ³om. ED ⁴a hind a hindsi (sic) V a hinnisib R a hinnsi D ⁵Merem with o yo sprs. E Marahén R ⁶techedh R ⁷dilim ER dilenn D ⁸doigh E ⁹leisi ER leisi D ¹⁰-ng- D ¹¹doine ED daine R ¹²cosin EDR ¹³olec V ¹⁴himurbus E himmarbus D

sāerad ar bīastaib 7 mīchuirthib in 25 domuin, 16 combad sāer 17 in dū 18 sin ar 19 dilind. Oeus ro 20 indiseta dana a 21 druidhi di 22 Hēriu fon innas sain, 7 ara 23 tīset co Hērinn. 24 Conid aire sin 26 do riacht 26 Cessair for iarair 27 Hērem.

176. Dīa Mairt a 3 hindse 2 Meroēn, 2 ar fut 4 srotha Nīl. Secht mbliadna dī fri 5 tāeb 6 Eigipti. 7 Ocht trāth 8 dēec dī for 10 muncieunn Mara 11 Caisp. Fiche trāth 9 dī 6 Muir 12 Caisp 13 cosin Muir 14 Cimera. Trāth dī 15 do Aissia 16 Bice, etir Siria 17 Muir 18 Torrian. Fichi trāth 6 19 Aissia 20 Bice, 21 ic seōlad 22 co Helpa. 23 A hocht dēec 6 Elpa co Hespāin. Nōi trāth 24 dī 6 Espāin co 25 Hērinn. Dīa 21 Sathairn do riacht 27 Hērinn, 7 28 cōjē dēec 29 forsin 26 Sathairn sin, amail 30 asbert in 32 file,

Cessair can as tāinic sī.

177. 1 Cethracha lā rīa 2 ndilind 3 trā 4 do 5 ruachtatar; lucht teora mbare dosrala do Dūn na mBarc 6 in Irrus 7 Desseirt 8 Coreco 9 Duibne. Ro bāidit dā 10 bairec 11 dīb, 12 connach 13 tēerna dīb acht 14 Cessair, lucht a 15 bairece: sē bliadna 16 caocat ar sē 17 cētaib ar 18 mīle 6 19 thossuch 20 domain 21 co sin. 22 Cōeca ingen 7 triar fer 23 līn 24 battar 25 issin luing sin, i. Bith mac 26 Nōe meic 27 Laimiach, òn

imarþus R 15 domain R 16 comad V 17 an R 18 sain E 19 inn RD 20 inn- RD -diss- E 21 druidhe E druide R -di D 22 Eri R: do riassin E fon innass sin E fou innas sin R foan inas sai *the first a yc sbs D* 23 -sad (a dot, not a lenition-mark, over the d) V -ssad E -sed R 24 conidh E: airisin R 25 do riass E 26 Cessair R 27 Erenn R.

176. 1 hīsi E innsib R hindsin D 2 Maraoen R 3 iar ED 4 srothae E 5 toeb RD 6 Eigipt E Egipte R 7 .ui. changed to .uiii. E; uii R 8 dee VR 9 om. R (bis) 10 muin- ERD -cind E -einn R 11 Caisp R 12 Chaisp D 13 co R 14 Cimerdhae E Cimreda R 15 do Aissi V d'Aissia E do Assia RD 16 bie VR 17 is VD 18 Torian V Torrian R Torren D 19 Assia R Assia D

evil nor sin had been committed, and which was free from the reptiles and monsters of the world, that such a place should be exempt from a Flood. And her wizards, indeed, told her that Ireland was in that case, and that on that account she should come to Ireland. Wherefore Cessair arrived, in search of Ireland.

176. On Tuesday, from the island of Meroe, along the river Nile. Seven years had she alongside the territory of Egypt. Eighteen days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twenty days had she from the Caspian to the Cimmerian Sea. A day had she to Asia Minor, between Syria and the Torrian Sea. Twenty days from Asia Minor, sailing to the Alps. Eighteen [days] from the Alps to Spain. Nine days had she from Spain to Ireland. On Saturday she reached Ireland, and that Saturday was dated the fifteenth, as the poet said,

Poem no. XXIII.

177. Forty days before the Flood they arrived: the crew of three ships chanced upon Dun na mBare in the Southern Promontory of Coreo Duibne. Two of the ships were wrecked, so that there escaped none of them save Cessair, with the crew of her ship: a thousand six hundred fifty and six years from the beginning of the world until then. Fifty women and three men were the

20 bic VRD 21 ac R 22 go D 23 xiii. (om. a) MSS.: ins. trath sec. man. R 24 om. R 25 Heir- E 26 Sat- E -airnn V 27 Erind ER 28 coiced E 29 forin V 30 -tharn E tSatharn R 31 asp- D 32 fili R

177. 1 the -a yc E 2 -linn ER 3 trath E 4 a E 5 -dar EV 6 an Irrus E in Hirrus R 7 deise- R dese- D 8 Corca ER Chorca D 9 Dhubni E 10 baire ERD 11 dīb E 12 conach ER 13 terno ER 14 Cessair E 15 -ree ED -rei R 16 caecat V coecat RD 17 cet R 18 mhili E mili R 19 thosach ED tosach R 20 domh- E 21 cus an mbliadain sun RD co sin mbliadain sin E 22 caoga E 23 ins. is e R 24 batar VED 25 isin ER isind D 26 Naoi E Nai R 27 Laimiach VD

²⁸ainmnigter Sliab Betha, ar is ²⁹and ro ³⁰hadhnacht, ³¹i
³²carun mōr ³³Slēibe Betha: Ladra lñain, òn ³⁴ainmnigther
 Ard ³⁵Ladrann, is ³⁶éside ³⁷cétna marb ³⁸Érenn rña
³⁹ndilind: ⁴⁰atbath do ⁴¹furail banaich, nō ⁴²issē ⁴³lunta
⁴⁴in ⁴⁵ráma ⁴⁶dochuaid ⁴⁷i tarb a ⁴⁸sliasta: secip cruth
 trá, ⁴⁹issē in ⁵⁰Ladru sin ⁵¹cétna marb ⁵²Hérenn.
⁵³Finntán mae Labrada meic ⁵⁴Bethaig meie ⁵⁵Lamiach
qui dicitur Mae Bochra, ar ⁵⁶Bochra *nomen matris eius*:
 ba ⁵⁷hē-side ⁵⁸in ⁵⁹macaem ⁶⁰ón ainmnigter Fert Fintán⁶⁰
 ós ⁶¹Taul ⁶²Tuinde.

178. Ro ¹randsat ²in triar fer sin ²in ³cōecait ⁴ingen
 etoru, ⁵ut ⁷Fintán *dixit*

Cain raind do raindsemar etrond.

179. Mad áil trá ¹a ²fiss ³stairthiud ⁴Cesra ⁵hi tñir ⁶nÉrend,
 i. ⁷fáith Dé ⁷a ⁸thechtaire dia ⁹räd fri ¹⁰Nóe mae ¹¹Lamiach:
¹²Déne ¹³airee duit do ¹⁴crannail ¹⁵étromaib, ar ¹⁶doraga diliu
⁷ ¹⁷dilegfaidh ¹⁸cach mbeo acht ¹⁹tussu ⁷do ben ⁷do meic ⁷mná
 do mac. Oeus ²⁰missi, ar Bith, eid dogén? Ní ²¹lēcar ²²damsa,
 ar ²³Nóe, ar ²⁴mét do ²⁵peccaid, do ²⁶lēcan ²⁷sin ²⁸aire. Oeus
²⁹mesi, ar ³⁰Fintán hua ³¹Lamiach, ³²eid dogén? Ní ³³lum
 a ³⁴chomas, ar ³⁵Nóe. ³⁶Missi, ar ³⁷Ladru, ³⁸eid dogén? ³⁹
³⁹Nimtha a ⁴⁰chomas, ar ⁴¹Nóe, ní long ⁴²ladrand ⁴³in long-sa ⁷
 ni ⁴⁴húaim ⁴⁵thadhat. ⁴⁶Iarsain ⁴⁷doluid Bith ⁴⁸i ⁴⁹comairle ⁷

Laimhiach E Laimiach R ²⁸ther ED ²⁹ann RD ³⁰haghnacht E
 hadn- R adhnacht V ³¹hi ED a R ³²earnd E earn D ³³Sl-i Bethad D
³⁴ghter E ³⁵Ladrann ERD (Ladr. DR) ³⁶eisidhe E esin R
³⁷cedna E ³⁸Eir- E H- D ³⁹ndilinn RD ⁴⁰aldbath E ⁴¹fur- D
⁴²ase E ise RD ⁴³hunna E ⁴⁴ina E na R ⁴⁵ramha E ramai D
⁴⁶aidh V ⁴⁷a ER hi D ⁴⁸slíasta D -sda E ⁴⁹ise ERD: an R
⁵⁰Ladra ERD ⁵¹cedna E ⁵²Eir- E Er- R ⁵³Findtan E Fintan D
⁵⁴Bethad R ⁵⁵Lamiach E ⁵⁶Bohera V ⁵⁷om. -side RD (written
 ba h' D, ba h' E) ⁵⁸an R ⁵⁹macaomh E -aem yc R ⁶⁰⁻⁶¹tra
 ota Firt Findtan (Fintan D Finntan R) EDR ⁶²Tul E ⁶³Tuinde E
 Tuinne RD.

178. ¹rann- RD -sad E ²an R (bis) ³caogad E ⁴n-ingen VD
⁵ins. hi (a R) trib rannalib RD (-uib D) hi tribh randaib E: etarra E
 etorra R ⁶amail asbert Finntan R ⁷Findtan VE.

tally that was in that ship: to wit Bith s. Noe s. Lamech, from whom is Sliab Betha named, for there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Betha: Ladra the pilot, from whom is Ard Ladrann named—he is the first dead man of Ireland before the Flood. He died of excess of women, or it is the shaft of the oar that penetrated his buttock: whatever way it was, however, that Ladra is the first dead man of Ireland. Finntan s. Labraid s. Bethach s. Lamech, *qui dicitur* Son of Bochra, for Bochra is *nomen matris eius*: he was the youth after whom is named “Fintan’s Grave” above Tul Tuinde.

178. Those three men divided the fifty women among them, *ut* Fintan *dixit*

Poem no. XXV.

179. Wouldst thou know of the adventure of Cessair into the land of Ireland: A prophet of God and His messenger had said unto Noe s. Lamech: Make thee an ark of light timbers, for a Flood shall come, and shall submerge every living thing save only thee and thy wife and thy sons and the wives of thy sons. And I, said Bith, what shall I do? It is not permitted to me, said Noe, for the greatness of thy sinfulness, to suffer thee into the Ark. And I, said Fintan grandson of Lamech, what shall I do? I have no power, said Noe. I, said Ladra, what shall I do? I have no power, said Noe: this ship is no

179. ¹erasure of about four letters here R ²fis E fis D ³tairtiudh E
 tauirthiud R ⁴Chesra E Cesrai R ⁵i ER ⁶nErim V nEir- E
⁷faid E ⁸tech- DR ⁹radh E ¹⁰Nae V Naoi E Nai R
¹¹Laimhiach ER (m R) ¹²dena ER ¹³aire ER ¹⁴crandaibh E
¹⁵bh E -omm- D ¹⁶doradha dili E ¹⁷legh- E -faid R ¹⁸eech R
¹⁹tuse ERD ²⁰misi ERD ²¹legar D ²²damh- E ²³Naoi E
²⁴meit R ²⁵pec- ER pheuid D ²⁶leic- E lecen R leeon D ²⁷isin E
 (sind D) isind R ²⁸airec D ²⁹misi ERD ³⁰Finn- D ³¹Laimhiach
 E Lamiach D ³²ciodh E ³³liom E lim R limm D ³⁴com- R
³⁵Naoi E ³⁶misi ER mise D ³⁷Ladra E Ladra RD ³⁸⁻³⁹om. R,
 eidh dogen V eidh doghen E ⁴⁰nimta R ⁴¹chommas V com- R
⁴²Naoi E ⁴³latrann D ⁴⁴an R ⁴⁵huaimh E ⁴⁶thadhad E thadh- R
 thad- D ⁴⁷sin ERD ⁴⁸uidh VE ⁴⁹a R hi D ⁵⁰comharli E

⁵⁰Findtān ⁵¹Ladhru, ⁵²asbertatar: Cid ⁵³dogēnum ⁵⁴din
⁵⁵comairle sin, ar is ⁵⁶airchend ⁵⁷eo ⁵⁸targa ⁵⁹diliu, ⁶⁰eindas
⁶¹nosfrithāilfium? Ninsa, ar ⁶²Cessair ingen ⁶³Betha. ⁶⁴Tabraid
⁶⁵aitidin damsia, ⁶⁶dobersa ⁶⁷innus ⁶⁸comairle ⁶⁹duib. ⁷⁰Rotbia
⁷¹an ní sin, ar ⁷²eat. ⁷³Tabar ⁷⁴didiu lämdia ⁷⁵chūcaib, ⁷⁶ar sī,
⁷⁷adraig ⁷⁸do, ⁷⁹dellaïd ⁸⁰fri Día ⁸¹Nöe. ⁸²Tuesat iarom ⁸³dia
⁸⁴chūeu, ⁸⁵issi ⁸⁶comairle ⁸⁷tue an dia ⁸⁸dōib: ⁸⁹Dēnigh
⁹⁰longaiss ⁹¹cirgadh ⁹²for muir. Acht ni ⁹³feadar som, ⁹⁴ni
⁹⁵fitir a ndia ⁹⁶cain do ragad ⁹⁷dīliu. Conid ⁹⁸ead ⁹⁹dorigensat,
¹⁰⁰a n-aire ¹⁰¹dognim ¹⁰²dula ¹⁰³innti, seeht ¹⁰⁴mbliadna ¹⁰⁵rāithi
¹⁰⁶Tri ¹⁰⁷tiachtain ¹⁰⁸dilend.

180. ¹Is ²hē ³lin lotar ⁴hissin ⁵aire ⁶sin: cōica ingen im
⁷Chessair ⁸im ⁹Bairrinn ¹⁰im ¹¹Balba ¹²im ¹³Findtān ¹⁴im
¹⁵Bith ¹⁶im ¹⁷Ladra. ¹⁸Ro ¹⁹sirsitar trā ²⁰Éigipt ²¹rl., co
²²riachtatar ²³co ²⁴Hespāin. ²⁵Rostimart ²⁶doinend ²⁷anfud
²⁸eo Hérinn fri rē ²⁹nōi trāth, ³⁰congabsat ie Dūn na ³¹mBare
³²iar ³³nÉirinn, ³⁴dolotar cona mnāib eo ³⁵Miledach—³⁶Bun
³⁷Sūainme ³⁸ind inbajd sin ba ³⁹hainm dō i. ⁴⁰sūainium ⁴¹Sūiri
⁴²Sūanem Eōire ⁴³Sūanem ⁴⁴Berba: ⁴⁵issē sin ⁴⁶Comur na
⁴⁷Tri ⁴⁸nUsqi, do ⁴⁹chummusc na tri ⁵⁰n-aband.

181. Ocus ¹rannsat ²in ³cōicait ⁴n-ingin ⁵hi tri, ⁶rue Fintān
⁷Cessair do ⁸rogain, ⁹seeht ¹⁰mnā dēec ¹¹maille ¹²fria: rue Bith

comairle D ¹³Finntain E Finntan RD ¹⁴Ladhra E Ladra RD
¹⁵adb. E ¹⁶dodenan (sic) E dodénum R dogenam D ¹⁷don E
¹⁸chomairle D: ¹⁹leisi E and om. sin E ²⁰aircend E airchenn RD
²¹go E ²²targa R ²³dili E ²⁴cinnas EDR ²⁵alfam ERD
²⁶Cesar ERD ²⁷Bethu R ²⁸uid E ²⁹aididin E aititin D
³⁰written innu; V: indas R inus D ³¹comhairli E ³²duibh E
³³rothia E ³⁴ani E in ni RD ³⁵iad E ³⁶air E ³⁷om. E dana R
³⁸ins. ar si RD: cugaib E cucaib R ³⁹om. ar si RD ⁴⁰aidh V
⁴¹dho the dot of aspiration apparently ins. sec. man. D ⁴²deall- E
⁴³fria E ⁴⁴Naoi E Noi R ⁴⁵tugsad E ⁴⁶dee R ⁴⁷chuea ED
⁴⁸cuca R ⁴⁹asi ER isi D ⁵⁰comhairli E comairli R ⁵¹tug ED
⁵²doibh E ⁵³dengid longus VE denid D denaidh R ⁵⁴longais RD
⁵⁵eirgid E ergid DR ⁵⁶fo with r sprs. ye V: fur E ⁵⁷feadar E
⁵⁸featar RD ⁵⁹fit- E ⁶⁰cuin VER qī D ⁶¹dili ER ⁶²eadh V
⁶³ed ER hed D ⁶⁴doronnad E ⁶⁵gniomh E ⁶⁶dol E ⁶⁷nt E
⁶⁸inti D ⁶⁹om. m- V ⁷⁰raiti E raithe R rathi D ⁷¹re E
⁷²tichtain RD ⁷³dilinn R.

ship of robbers and no den of thieves. Thereafter Bith and Ladra and Fintan came to consult together, and they said: What shall we do for that counsel, for it is final that a Flood shall come, and how shall we make us ready for it? Easy! said Cessair, daughter of Bith. Give submission to me, and I shall give you a manner of counsel. Thou shalt have that, said they. Take then to yourselves an idol, said she: worship it, and sunder you from the God of Noe. So they took a god unto themselves, and this is the counsel that it gave them: Make ye a voyage, and embark upon the sea. But they knew not, nor did their god know, when the Flood should come. Accordingly what they did was to make their Ark, and to go into it, seven years and three months before the coming of the Flood.

180. This is the tally of those who went in that ark: fifty women in the company of Cessair and Bairrind and Balba and Fintan and Bith and Ladra. They sought out Egypt (and so forth) till they reached Spain. Storm and tempest drove them to Ireland in a space of nine days, till they landed at Dun na mBare, behind Ireland, and they came with their women to Miledach. At that time Bun Suainme was its name, from the confluence of the Suir, the Nore and the Barrow. That is the Meeting of the Three Waters, from the mingling of the three rivers.

181. They divided the fifty women into three shares. Fintan took Cessair for choice, and seventeen women with her: Bith

180. ¹his D ²e RD ³lion E ⁴isin ER hisin D ⁵aire VD
⁶om. sin ERD ⁷Chesair E Cesair RD ⁸om. 1 D ⁹Bairrinn ER
¹⁰Bairrind D ¹¹Balbu R ¹²um Bith ¹³um Finntan ¹⁴um Ladra R:
¹⁵im before Findtān ye V ¹⁶Findtān E ¹⁷Ladhra E ¹⁸sirsidar E
¹⁹sirsetar R sirset D ²⁰Éigipt E Egipit RD ²¹dar E ²²om. co R
²³Espain R ²⁴rotimart R ²⁵nenn D ²⁶anfad R ²⁷am. co
²⁸Herinn R co Heir- E ²⁹nōe V nāoi E ³⁰ins. o Espani co Herinn R:
³¹sad E ³²mBarc V ³³nEir- E ³⁴om. 1 R ³⁵dollotar R
³⁶Miledach ERD ³⁷Suainmi ER ³⁸an R ³⁹om. h- E ⁴⁰Suainem
⁴¹ED (bis) Suainem . . . suainem R ⁴²Suire ERD ⁴³om. 1 R
⁴⁴Bernai D ⁴⁵is e R is he D ⁴⁶Comar ERD ⁴⁷nUsqi E nUsqi R
⁴⁸commusc E comusuc R chumusc D ⁴⁹n-abann ER n-aboun D.

181. ¹randsat ER ²an R ³coecat E l.a R ⁴om. u- ER
⁵i E a R ⁶Cesair R ⁷rogū E roga D ⁸ins. a R ⁹mna
¹⁰spr. ye D ¹¹ins. dana R: immaille ER moaille D moaille R ¹²frie ERD

¹²secht ¹³mnā dēce ¹⁴im ¹⁵Bairrind. Rue ¹⁶Ladru sē mnā dēce
¹⁷im Balba, ⁷ ba dūndach de. Ocus ¹⁸doluidh leo ¹⁹in Ard
²⁰Ladrand, ⁷ rl.

182. ¹Ocus ²dolotar na sē mnā dēc ³sin co Cessair ⁷ ⁴asbertsat :
 Cid ⁵dogēnum fodechta? ⁶Faitte ⁷techta ó ⁸Chesair eo Bith ⁷
⁹adchomairee ¹⁰eid ¹¹dogēntais na mnā. ¹²Doluid post Bith eo
¹³hāit ¹⁴i mbāe ¹⁵Finnatān, ¹⁶ ¹⁷randsat ¹⁸in cōicait mban ar dō,
⁷ ¹⁹rue Bith ²⁰cōic mnā fichef dib eo ²¹tūaseert ²²nÉrenn.
²³Atbath Bith in a slēib.²⁴

183. Is ¹iarom lotar ²in bandtrocht ar ³cūlu, eo ⁴harm i
⁵fargabsat ⁶Cessair ⁷ ⁷Fintān. ⁸Élāid iarom ⁹Fintān for ¹⁰teched
¹¹ria na mnāib uile, dar Bun ¹²Sūainme i. ¹³dar ¹⁴Suir, ¹⁵ ⁷ dar
 Slēib Cūa, hi ¹⁶Cend ¹⁷Febrat innsin, ⁷ ¹⁸a lām ¹⁹clē fri ²⁰Sinaind
 sāir co ²¹Tul ²²Tuini ós Loeh ²³Dergdherce. ²⁴Doluid post
²⁵Cessair eo Cūil ²⁶Cesra i Conaechta ⁷ a ²⁷bandtracht ²⁸lē, ⁷
²⁹muigis a ³⁰eridhí ³¹inti do ³²ingnais a fir ⁷ do ée a ³³hathar.
³⁴Ocus ro ³⁵forbadh ³⁶andsin ³⁷in ³⁸aimser o ³⁹Ádam eo dilinn
 acht ⁴⁰secht lāe *tantum*.

184. Acht is do aimsir ¹Adaim domunter ²in gabāil ³so ⁴Chessrach.
⁵Ind ⁶aimsir ⁷so imorro ⁸dilinn eo ⁹Habrām, ⁷ ¹⁰cosin ¹¹nōmaid bliadain
 flaithusa ¹²Abrahām, ¹³nocho frith ¹⁴Hēriū conasfuair Partholón: ¹⁴ ⁷bāe
 tri cēt bliadan for ¹⁵Hēriinn co ¹⁶rus-dilegh ¹⁷in ¹⁸mortlaid. Isin ¹⁹cetramudh
 bliadain ar sē cētaib do aimsir Abraim tānic ²⁰Nemedh ²¹ochtar ²²an
 Hēriinn: ²³ ⁷ ro ²⁴fallna ceithre cēt bliadan ²⁵for ²⁶Hēriinn. ²⁷Hēriū iarsin,
 dā cēt bliadan ²⁸fass, ⁷ ro ²⁹forbad ³⁰flaithius Abrahām ³¹andsin acht ³²ceithre
³³bliadna. Gabsat post Fir ³⁴Bolg ³⁵hi ³⁶tossuch na ³⁷ceithre bliadan do
³⁸deriud flatha ³⁹Abrahām. Ar isin sē bliadan ar trichat iar ngabāil do

¹²ins. a R ¹³om. R ¹⁴um R ¹⁵Bairrind ERD (inn R) ¹⁶Ladra ER
¹⁷om. im Balba RD ¹⁸doluid ED doluid R ¹⁹ind E ²⁰Ladrand R.
 182. ¹occus E, ²om. R ³doluidset E dolotar R ⁴om. sin R:
 eo sprs. yo E ⁵isbertsat E asbertatar R asbert D ⁶dodenam E
 dogenam DR ⁷foite E foite R foiti D ⁸tecta V ⁹Cesair R
¹⁰aire ED itcomaire R ¹¹om. eid V ¹²taiss V ¹³doluid R
¹⁴haitt V ait R ¹⁵a mbæe E a mbai RD ¹⁶Fintan ED Findtan R
¹⁷om. ⁷R ¹⁸rannsat ED ¹⁹an R ²⁰ruec E ²¹euie R
²²tuaiscert ERD ²³om. n-ER: -end E ²⁴⁻²⁵om. ERD.
 183. ¹iarom R an R ²bantracht ER bauntracht D ³culae E
 cula R ⁴airm E hairm DE ⁵fargarbsad V ⁶Cesair D Ces. ⁷om.
 and ⁸yo R ⁹Fintan VD ¹⁰elaidh V helaid ERD ¹¹Fintan iarom R
¹²teched R ¹³rias ER ¹⁴Ruainme V Suanmhi E -nmi D ¹⁵tar R
¹⁶Suir ER ¹⁷om. ⁷ERD ¹⁸cenn ED ¹⁹Febrad R ²⁰om. a R
²¹chle D ²²ainn BD ²³ins. rainie R; Taul E ²⁴Tuinni F

took seventeen women including Bairrind: Ladra took sixteen with Banba, and was dissatisfied therat. And he came with them into Ard Ladrand (and so forth).

182. And those sixteen women came to Cessair and they said: What shall we do now? Messengers were sent from Cessair to Bith, and she asked what the women should do. Afterwards Bith came to the place where Fintan was, and they divided the fifty women into two shares, and Bith took twenty-five women of them to the north of Ireland. Bith died in his mountain.

183. Thereafter the women went back, to the place where they left Cessair and Fintan. Then Fintan escapes, a-fleeing before all the women, across Bun Suainme, that is, across the Suir, and over Slieb Cua, which is in Cenn Febrat: left-hand to the Shamon eastward, to Tul Tuindi over Loch Dergdeire. Post Cessair came to Cul Cessra in Connaechta, and her women with her; and her heart brake within her for the absence of her husband and for the death of her father. Then was completed the time from Adam to the Flood, save seven days *tantum*.

184. But it is to the epoch of Adam that this Taking of Cessair is reckoned. In this epoch, moreover, from the Flood to Abraham, and to the ninth year of the reign of Abraham, Ireland was not discovered till Partholon found it; and he was three hundred years over Ireland till the pestilence quenched him. In the six hundred and fourth year of the epoch of Abraham the Nemed-octad came into Ireland: and it had dominion four hundred years over Ireland. Thereafter Ireland was for two hundred years desert, and then the epoch of Abraham was completed, save four years. The Fir Bolg post took it, in the beginning of the four years of

Tuinne RD ²³Deirg- RD -derce E -dere RD ²⁴doluidh E doluid R
²⁵Cesair RD ²⁶Cesair R; ⁷om. i Conachta ERD ²⁷bantracht E
 bauntracht D bantracht R ²⁸om. le R ²⁹maidis ER maidis D
³⁰eridh ER eride D ³¹intti ER ³²ingnais V ³³om. h- R
³⁴om. ⁷R ³⁵bad ERD ³⁶ann- ERD ³⁷ind E an R ³⁸sir ER
³⁹Adham E ⁴⁰iii. ER: la R.
 184. ¹Adhaim VE Aduim D ²an R ³seo R ⁴Cesra R ⁵in R
⁶ser ED ⁷om. so imorro, ins. tra R ⁸Habraam R ⁹cosind E
¹⁰nomad V ¹¹Abraaim R ¹²noco ED nochas R ¹³Er- E Éri R
¹⁴om. ⁷R ¹⁵Erind R ¹⁶ros EDR -dileg ERD ¹⁷i m- E an R
¹⁸-aidh V: mortflaid E ¹⁹-mad D cetrumad R ²⁰-med ER ²¹u.ii. R
²²ind E in DR ²³om. ⁷R ²⁴fallna E fallnastar R ²⁵ind E
²⁶Hereo E ²⁷Héri R ²⁸fas RD ²⁹badh VR ³⁰flaith R
³¹annsin DE ann R ³²u.ii. D ³³om. R ³⁴Bolg ED ³⁵i R
³⁶tosach RD ³⁷u.ii. mbl. R ³⁸deirid E deirid R ³⁹Abraaim R

⁴⁰Feraib ⁴¹Bole co tāncatar ⁴²Tūath Dē Danann, ⁴³co rogabsat for ⁴⁴Firu Bole: tricha bliadan *tantum* ro ⁴⁵leiced ⁴⁶flaithus dōib. Remis imorro gnima ⁴⁷Tempuī Solman do ⁴⁸deochatar Meic ⁴⁹Miled, la Lugaid mac ⁵⁰nItha.

185. In gabāil¹si trā ²Cesra, ³nūss ⁴gabait ⁵aroile hison ⁶ngabālaib. Acht ⁷issiat ⁸fofuir ⁹Hērinn ar ¹⁰tūs. ¹¹Acht ni ¹²tērna nech dīb¹³seo ¹⁴uile, acht ¹⁵Findtān ¹⁶namā a ¹⁷āenur, ro ¹⁸bōi ¹⁹isind ūaim ūs ²⁰Tul ²¹Tuinni lo ²²dilinn; ²³ro ²⁴fuirig Dīa a ²⁵anmain ²⁶and, ²⁷conidh hē ro ²⁸innis ²⁹gabāla Ērenn, ²⁹rl.

Cethracha trāth don tūr tind.

³⁰Is amlaid³¹sain ³²dana ro forbad ³³gabāil ³⁴Cessra.

Third Redaction.

B 12 a 49; M 271 γ 21.

186. ¹Sguirim þ trā || do scēlaib na ²nGāedheal þ ³adfeadsam || ⁴go ro aisneidheam do ⁵na secht tūathaibh ⁶ro ghabsad Ērind ⁷rompu. ⁸Ro ghabh āmh Ceassair^(a) ingean Beathadh meic Nāi, ⁹cethracha lā ¹⁰rē ndilind. ¹¹Parrtholōn mac ¹²Seara, trī ¹³cēt bliadan ¹⁴iar ndilind. ¹⁵Neimeadh mac ¹⁶Agnomain do ¹⁷Grēgaibh Sceithīa, ¹⁸a cind ¹⁹trichad bliadan iar ²⁰Partholōn. Fir ²¹Bolg īartain. Fir Domnand īarsin. Gaileōin marāen riu²²sin. Tūatha Dē Danann ²³īarsoin. þ Meic ²⁴Mīlidh ²⁵īarsain || ²⁶ut dixit Findtān,

Hēriu cia fiafraigther dim.

⁴⁰Feruib E Fheraib D ⁴¹Boig D ⁴²Tuatha R ⁴³corccabsat E co rogabsat RD ⁴⁴Fhiru E Fira D ⁴⁵leiceadar E leg⁴⁶D ⁴⁷flaithus ERD ⁴⁸Tempaill Sholman R ⁴⁹-dar E dollotar R ⁵⁰Mīlid R ⁵¹om. n. E.
 185. ¹seo D om. R ²Cesra V Cess. R Chesra D ³nīs ER ⁴gabat ED⁵gabsat R ⁶araile VR (-li R) ⁷ngabala R ⁸is iat ERD ⁹fouair V fosfuir ¹⁰Erind R ¹¹thus E, tuss D ¹²om. R ¹³therna D ¹⁴so RD ¹⁵uili R huile D ¹⁶Finnian R Fintan D ¹⁷namma E om. R ¹⁸oenar ERD ¹⁹bo E bui R ²⁰isin R sind D ²¹Tuil R ²²Tuinne RD ²³dilind R ²⁴fuirigh VE fuirig D ²⁵anmuin D ²⁶ann RD ²⁷conide ER conidhe D ²⁸indis D

the end of the reign of Abraham. A series of thirty-six years after the taking by the Fir Bolg, till the Tuatha De Danann came, who took it over the Fir Bolg: thirty years *tantum* was the principedom permitted to them. In the time of the building of Solomon's Temple the sons of Mil came, with Lugaid son of Ith.

185. Now this taking of Cessair, others do not accept it among the Takings: still, it is they who found Ireland at the first. Howbeit not one of all these escaped, save only Fintan, who was in the cave above Tul Tuinde under the Flood. God kept him waiting there alive, so that it was he who related the Takings of Ireland, etc.

Poem no. XXIV.

In this wise, then, the Taking of Cessair came to an end.

186. Let us cease, then, from the stories of the Gaedil [which we have related], that we may tell of the seven peoples who took Ireland before them. Cessair d. Bith s. Noe took it, forty days before the Flood. Partholon s. Sera, three hundred years after the Flood. Nemed s. Agnomain of the Greeks of Scythia, at the end of thirty years after Partholon. The Fir Bolg thereafter. The Fir Domnann thereafter. The Gaileoin along with them. The Tuatha De Danann thereafter. [The sons of Mil thereafter], *ut dixit* Findtan

Poem no. XXI.

²⁹cach (gach R, eoch D) gabail rogab (rogab D) Herinn ERD ³⁰om. 7 rl: ins. amail asbert an fili R ³¹om. this sentence R ³²-sin D ³³dono D ³⁴gabhai E ³⁵Cesra V Chesra E.

186. (variants from M) ¹scuiream thra ²nGaeidel ³adfeadam ⁴co ra aisneidream ⁵na seacht tūathaib ⁶rogabsad ⁷rompo ⁸rogob em Ceasair ingen Beatha ⁹ceathracha ¹⁰iar ¹¹Parrthalon ¹²Sera ¹³ched ¹⁴re ¹⁵Nemead ¹⁶Agnoimean ¹⁷Grecaib ¹⁸i ¹⁹tricha ²⁰Parrthalon ²¹Bole ²²siden ²³sin ²⁴Milead ²⁵sin ²⁶amail adfed in t-eolach arnso: (i. Fintan ce. sbs.).

(a) Cessair glossed i. Eriu in rough bad hand in M.

187. ¹Cia din ciata rogaibh Érinn ar toscaigh talman? Is ead ²atbert ³Leabhar Droma ⁴Sneachta comad Banba ainm na cét ingeine ⁵rogabh Érinn ria ndilind, ⁶gomadh Úaithi nobeith Banba for Érinn. ⁷Trí ⁸caoga ⁹ógh ¹⁰do dheachaidh, ¹¹triar ¹²fer. ¹³Laghra, in treas ¹⁴fer, is ¹⁵esin cét ¹⁶marbh Érenn ¹⁷annsin, ¹⁸is ¹⁹uadh ainmnigh-thear Ard ²⁰Laghrann. Ceathracha ²¹bliadan ²²ri ²³ndilind || do ²⁴bhadar ²⁵isin n-indsi ²⁶sin. Dosfainig Íarom galar, ²⁷conerboiltidar uile an ãen seachtmoin. Dá ²⁸cét bliadhan Íarsin ²⁹bái Ériu ³⁰gan duine beo, ³¹conad Íarum ³²tainig diliu³³: ceathracha ³⁴bliadan ³⁵lá ro bái ³⁶Ériu fo diliinn,

no is ectracha ³⁷lá ³⁸robái in dile ³⁹aga fearthain, ⁴⁰cáoga ar cét lá robái ⁴¹gan tseargadh,

conadhl ⁴²annsin ⁴³tug Díja gáeth do ⁴⁴súghudh in uisci.

In ⁴⁵deachmadh Úathadh Úsga, isin mis ⁴⁶Mái, ⁴⁷luid Nöe isin n-aire ⁴⁸ a muindtear oehtair ⁴⁹gus na huilibh ⁵⁰aimmindibh rug leis. ⁵¹In seachtmaidh fiabht imorro ⁵²isin mis ⁵³cétna aethraach do ⁵⁴dechaid aiste, go mad secht lá dég ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶bliadain ⁵⁷desidhén ro bái ⁵⁸Nái isin n-aire. I ⁵⁹seachtmadh dég isin mi cétna, i. i mis ⁶⁰Mái, ro ⁶¹tindscain in diliu fearthain.

I cind trí cét bliadan ⁶²íar ndilind || ⁶³rogab Parrtholon Érind, ⁶⁴no dono ⁶⁵mar ⁶⁶aderam bós ||, treabhsad a ⁶⁷síl cōica bliadan ar cōic cét, ⁶⁸condaselgadar Concheind, go na terno neach ⁶⁹di claind ana beathaigh. Tricha bliadan Íarsin ⁷⁰gan duine ⁷¹beo ar Érinn.

187. *In marg. of B:* a Cin Droma Sneachta in beac so sis conigi Ceassair ¹⁻¹ eid eia diducia rogeb Eriu iar tusmed in talman ²asbert ³Cin ⁴Sneachta ⁵rogob Érind ⁶comad uaithi ⁷Érind ⁸ins. ⁹chaeched ¹⁰og ¹¹om. do dheachaidh ¹²fer allin ¹³Ladra Luam ¹⁴fear ¹⁵e ¹⁶marb ¹⁷om. ¹⁸uada ainmnighther ¹⁹Ladra ²⁰glossed no la B ²¹om. ria ndilind do ²²badar ²³isa ²⁴sea i. inn Erinn: dosfainic íarum ²⁵conderbairt mile re hen seachtmainde ²⁶ched ²⁷do bai Eriú ²⁸can oen duine ²⁹ins. inti ³⁰thanic ³¹ins. forsin n-úile doman coroibe ³²⁻³³om. ³⁴Ern B ³⁵om. robai in dile ³⁶oe ³⁷co roibi bliadain acht mi oe traged na n-uiscead

187. Who then first took Ireland after the beginning of the world? This is what the Book of Druim Sneachta says, that Banba was the name of the first woman who took Ireland before the Flood, and that from her Ireland is called "Banba." With three fifty maidens she came, and with three men. Ladra, one of the three men, he is the first dead man of Ireland at that time, and from him is named Ard Ladra. Forty years [before the Flood] were they in that island. Thereafter a disease came upon them, so that they all died in one week. After that Ireland was for two hundred years without a living person, and thereafter came the Flood: forty years and a day was Ireland under the Flood,

or it is forty days that the Flood was a-pouring, and an hundred and fifty days it was without drying up,

so that then God sent a wind to suck up the water.

On the tenth unit of the moon, in the month of May, Noe went into the ark with his following of eight persons, and with all the animals which he took with him. Now on the twenty-seventh in the next month of the same name, he came out of it, so that thus Noe was a year and seventeen days in the ark. On the seventeenth in the same month, that is, in the month of May, the Flood began to pour.

At the end of three hundred years [after the Flood], Parrtholon took Ireland—[or, rather, as we shall say below], his seed dwelt in it five hundred and fifty years till the Cynocephali drove him out, and not one of his progeny remained alive. Thereafter there were thirty years without a living person in Ireland.

do dreich in talman, ¹caeca ²cet ³ins. in diliu can traged oe sugad na n-uiscead do dreich in talman, and om. gan tseargadh ⁴airisin ⁵tu ⁶the ⁷sugad na n-uiscead ⁸maid uathaid escai i mis ⁹doluid Nae andsa n-aire ¹⁰muinter ¹¹eus ¹²anmandaib ruc leis ¹³i seachtmaid ¹⁴i niixx. B ¹⁵sa ¹⁶chetna athirrach iar m bliadain do dechaid aiste conad seacht la dec ¹⁷denuim B ¹⁸iarsinde sin ¹⁹Naei ²⁰⁻²¹seachtmadh deo don mi chednai i. mis: om. mi B ²²thindscain ²³rogob Parrtholon Érind ²⁴ins. a B ²⁵aderam beos trebsad ²⁶síl ²⁷conad selgadar conchind cona terno ²⁸dia chloind i mbeathaid ²⁹cen ³⁰a mbeathaid in nErinn.

188. Mad īar n-aroile ¹slicht imorro, is ²iat so cētna
³† roghabh no || ro lā for ⁴Érinn rē ndilind i. ⁵Capa 7
 Sluasad 7 Laighne : ⁶ acht cheana nī airnid ⁷Gabhāla iad,
⁸ar nīr aitreibhsad īath ⁹n-Érenn. Is ead so ¹⁰tug an
 Éirim, a techt do ¹¹īasgach for muir, gu ro scēid in gāeth ō
 Easpāin ¹²gu Hērinn. ¹³Soissid dorīs ar ecann a mban
 do ¹⁴aitreibadh Érenn. O ¹⁵du riachtadar ¹⁶Érinn
¹⁷dorīsi, ¹⁸dosfarraid in diliu ¹⁹go rushāid ²⁰ag Tuadh
²¹lnmir. Conad ²²dib rochan in ²³file,

Capa is Laigni is Luasad grind.

189. ¹Ceasair ingean ²Beathadh meie ³Nāi, is ī cētna
 roghabh Érinn īar ⁴tuistin talman, ⁵ceathracha lāithe rē
 ndilind.

Dalta-⁷sen Sabaill meie ⁸Manaill, ⁹ut dicitur

Cessair ingen Beta būain.

190. Mad āil trā ¹īis ²turrtugudh Ceasraich ³a tīr ⁴n-Érinn, i.
⁵fāide^(a) 7 ⁶a techtaire dia ⁷rādha ria Nōe mac Laimiach : Dēna
 aire ⁸adhuit—

B.

do erandaib edroma, ar
 doraghā diliu 7 dileaghbaid
 gach mbeo,

triasin fingail moir dorindī Cain
 mac Adhaim ar a og-brathair; 7 ni
 thernoba gan tuitim sa tubaisti sin
 do sil Adhaimh,

M.

ar se, do chrandaib edruma,
 uair dorōa in diliu, 7 bid
 dilgedach each mbeo,

triasin fingail moir dorindī Cain
 mac Adaim ar a dearbrathair
 fodein, i. ar Aibel mac Adaim.
 Ocus ni thernoba duine cen toitimi
 isin tubaist sin do sil Adaim

188. ¹sleachtaib B ²iad ³om. ⁴Erind ria ⁵Capa
⁶ins. i. saer 7 liaig 7 iascairi na cerda ro bai con triur sin ⁷this word
 dittoed ⁸uair nir threbsad ⁹nErind ¹⁰imorro dosfue in
 Erind ¹¹iaseach for muir co ro seit ¹²co ¹³soigseid fis ar cend
¹⁴thoidecht do aitreb co Herinn ¹⁵da ¹⁶Eirind ¹⁷doridise
¹⁸a dot on the final d without significance B ¹⁹co ²⁰oc ²¹Indber
²²doib ²³t-eolach andso.

188. If we follow another version, however, these are the first [who took or] who came over Ireland before the Flood, Capa and Sluasad and Laigne; howbeit, [the Book] of Taking does not reckon them, for they did not settle in the land of Ireland. This is what brought them to Ireland: their coming upon the sea for fishing, so that the wind blew them from Spain to Ireland. They came back again to fetch their wives, to settle in Ireland. When they reached Ireland once more the Flood overtook them and drowned them at Tuad Inbir: so that of them the poet sang—

Poem no. XXII.

189. Cessair d. Bith s. Noc, she is the first who took Ireland after the Creation of the World, forty days before the Flood.

She was the fosterling of Saball s. Manall, *ut dicitur*

Poem no. XXVI.

190. Wouldst thou know of the adventure of Cessair into the land of Ireland: prophets [of God] and His messenger had said unto Noc s. Lamech: Make thee an ark—

B.

of light timbers, for a Flood
 shall come and shall submerge
 every living thing,

by reason of the great kin-murder
 which Cain s. Adam wrought upon
 his younger brother: and none of
 the seed of Adam shall escape without
 falling in that catastrophe,

M.

said he, of light timbers, for
 the Flood shall come, and every
 living thing shall be submerged

by reason of the great kin-murder
 which Cain s. Adam wrought upon
 his own brother, Abel s. Adam. And
 not a man of the seed of Adam
 shall escape without falling in that
 catastrophe,

189. ¹glossed i. Eiriu sec. man. M. ²Beatha ³Nae ⁴rogob
 Erind ⁵thustin ⁶ceathracha laithi re ndilind ⁷siden ⁸Manuailt
⁹om. ut.

190. ¹turthugud Ceasraich ²i ³nErind ⁴fāidi ⁵om. a:
 techtaireda ⁶rada fria Nae ⁷a duid

(a) *De* has probably dropped out here by homoiotes.

acht tusu 7 do bhean 7 do tri
meie 7 mna do mae,

uair air cumthaigh sibh re clainn
Cain.

Missi, ar Bith, ered dodhen?
Ni leagar damhsa, ar Noe, air
med do pecead, do legean sa
n-aire. Missi amh, ar Findtan
hua Laimiach, ered doghen?
Ni leam do comus, bar Nae.
Missi, ar Ladhra, ered dodhen?
Nimta a fis, ar Noe: nim long
latrand in long so, 7 ni huaim
thaidead.

acht tusu 7 do bean 7 do tri
mee 7 7do tri hingena i. mna
do mae.

uair air cumdaig sib re cloind
Chain; ordraig is i do derbfur fil
agnul fodein 7 t'ingena eo do
maceuib.

Misi, ar Bith mae Nae, craed
doden? Ni feadar, ar Nae,
uair ni leagar damsa thu ar
med do pecaig dot ligen sa
n-aire. Misi, ar Fintan mae
Laimiach† dearbrathair de Noe||
ered dodhen? Ni fillem do
eumachtaib, ar Nae, do legan
isa n-aire. Misi, ar Ladru
luam mae Beathad, ered dodhen?
Nimtha a fis, ar Nae, uair ni
leagar . . . sa n-aire.

Misi, ar Ceasair ingen Beathad,
eraed dodhen? Niconfeadar ol Nae,
doig ni leagar sa n-aire lim. Do
feargaidead Nae friu 7 adbeart,

Nim long ladrand in long-sa,
7 ni fuaim thechsaiget.

Airsin doluidh Bith i com-
airle 7 Findtan 7 Ladhra 7
atbertadar: Cred dodhenum
don chomairli-sa, uair is foir-
ceann gu tora dilind, 7 eindas
frithaifmid sind? Athbert
Ceassair: Tabhraidh aitidin
damsa, 7 dober ceadus daibh.
Rodbia in ni-si, bar iad.

⁷ ins. above line *glossed i. Ere in same hand and ink as note (7) in ¶ 188.

save only thou and thy wife
and thy three sons and the
wives of thy sons,

for ye did not company with the
children of Cain.

I, said Bith, what shall I do?
It is not permitted to me, said
Noe, for the greatness of thy
sins, to suffer thee into the
Ark. And I, said Fintan
grandson of Lamech, what
shall I do? I am not thy
keeper, said Noe. I, said Ladra,
what shall I do? I know not,
said Noe: for me, this ship is
no ship of thieves, no den of
robbers.

save only thou and thy wife
and thy three sons and thy
three daughters, the wives of
thy sons,

for ye did not company with the
children of Cain, inasmuch as it is
thy sister whom thyself hast, and
thy daughters are with thy sons.

I, said Bith s. Noe, what
shall I do? I know not, said
Noe, for it is not permitted to
me to suffer thee into the ark,
for the greatness of thy sin-
fulness. I, said Fintan son of
Lamech [brother of Noe], what
shall I do? We would not
stoop to the Powers, said Noe,
to suffer thee into the Ark. I,
said Ladra, the pilot, son of
Bith, what shall I do? I know
not, said Noe, for it is not per-
mitted [to let thee] into the
Ark.

I, said Cessair daughter of Bith,
what shall I do? I know not, said
Noe, for I have no permission to let
thee into the Ark. Noe was wroth
with them then, and said,

For me, this ship is no ship
of thieves, no den of robbers.

Thereafter Bith came into
counsel with Fintan and Ladra,
and they said: What shall we
do for this counsel, for it is
final that a Flood shall come,
and how shall we make us
ready? Said Cessair: Give
submission to me, and I shall
give the advantage to you.
Thou shalt have it, said they.

Give me submission and head-

Tabraiddh don lamhdia eugaib, comairli daib. Rotfia amail ar si, γ adhraiddh γ dhe, γ deal-aigh fria Dia Noe.

comairli daib. Rotfia amail chuindgid, ar siad. Tabraiddh dono lam-dia chueaib, ar si, γ adraid de, γ dellaid fria Dia Noe.

⁹Tugsad īarom dia chuen, γ is i ¹⁰comairle tag an dī dōibh: Dēnail ¹¹loingeas γ ¹²ēirghid for mūir. ¹³Acht nī leadadar-¹⁴sain, γ nī fidir ¹⁵a ndīa, cuin do ¹⁶raghagh ¹⁷an dīliu. ¹⁸Conidh ead ¹⁹dorōnsat, ²⁰in n-aire doghnim γ dul ²¹indte, ²²secht mbliadna γ ²³rāithe rīa ²⁴ndīlind.

191. Is ē ¹līu lōdar ²isin n-aire, i. ³cāoga ingen im ⁴Ceassair γ im ⁵Barrfīnd ⁶γ im Balba γ im ⁷Findtan im Bith γ im Ladhru.

Oeus ⁸ro rāidh Nae friu: Eirghid, ⁹ar sē, eo ¹⁰himeall īarthorach in domain, beas ¹¹gu rīa in ¹²dīli.

192. Dīa Mairt īarom, γ ar a ¹ceūigead dēg ²in ēsca, ro glūais o ³indsibh Mara Hen for Sruth Nīl ⁴in Eigipt. Bāi ⁵dēce mbliadan † ⁶no a secht || ⁷in Eighipt. Fichi ⁸trāth dī for muinehind Mara ⁹Casp. Da ¹⁰trāth dēg dī for Muir ¹¹Caisp ¹²fēin gu riacht ¹³a Muir ¹⁴Cimirdha. Āeu trath ¹⁵ō Aisia ¹⁶Big ¹⁷dī, eo Mur Torren. Seōladh ¹⁸fichit trāth dī co Slīabh ¹⁹nElpa: fria rē nōi trāth dī asein eo Heaspāin. ²⁰Seōladh nōi trāth dī o Easpāin cu Hērenn † ²¹i. ²²ag Dūn na mBare ||,

⁹doradsad ¹⁰comairli tue in dia doib ¹¹loinges ¹²ergid ¹³uair
¹⁴-son ¹⁵in dia ¹⁶thiefad ¹⁷in ¹⁸conad ¹⁹doridne-seom
²⁰an aire ²¹inti ²²uī. ²³miswritten un. B ²⁴raithi ²⁵tiachtain
na dilenn.

191. ¹lind B ²isa ³caeca ⁴Cheasair ⁵Barraind ⁶om. γ
⁷Fhīntan ⁸roraid dono Eriu (glossed i. Ceasair no Fotla, in different hand
and ink from 188¹, 189²) rīu ergid ⁹om. ar se ¹⁰himell iarthurach
¹¹eo ¹²dīliu.

Take to yourselves an idol, said she: worship it, and sunder you from the God of Noe. ship, said she, and I shall give you counsel. Thou shalt have thy request, said they. Take then an idol to yourselves, said she, worship it, and sunder you from the God of Noe.

Thereafter they took to themselves an idol, and this is the counsel that their idol gave them: Make a voyage, and embark upon the sea. But they knew not, nor did their idol know, when the Flood should come. Accordingly what they did was to make an Ark, and go into it, seven years and three months before the Flood.

191. This is the tally that went into the Ark, fifty maidens including Cesair, and Barrfīnd and Balba and Fīntan and Bith and Ladrā.

And Noe said unto them: Rise, said he (and go) to the western border of the world; perhaps the Flood will not reach it.

192. Thereafter on Tuesday, the fifteenth of the Moon, she went from the isles of Meroe^(a) upon the river of Nile in Egypt. She was ten years, [or seven], in Egypt. Twenty days had she upon the surface of the Caspian Sea. Twelve days had she on the Caspian Sea itself, till she reached the Cimmerian Sea. One day had she from Asia Minor to the Torrian Sea. A sailing of twenty days had she to the Alpine Mountain: for a space of nine days had she thence to Spain. A sailing of nine days had she from Spain to Ireland, [namely at Dun na mBare],

192. ¹cuiced dec ²om. in ³indsib ⁴an Egept ⁵u. bl.
⁶om. no a secht ⁷an Egept ⁸tra B (the final th has been lost
through the forgetfulness of the scribe at the beginning of a new line)
⁹ar muineind ¹⁰Caisp ¹¹trāth dee ¹²Chaisp ¹³om. fein gu
riacht a ¹⁴γ for ¹⁵Cimirda ¹⁶di an ¹⁷Bic ¹⁸γ eo Muir
Toirriam ¹⁹fiched B ²⁰nElpa ²¹scolad .ix. trāth dī ota sin
²²om. i. ²³oc.

(a) In the text "Of the Sea of Hen."

B.

amail asbert	i Coreo Duibne ro gob calad-
<i>Hi cuigcadh uathadh gan eill</i>	port,
	in euicead uathaid esca
	for Satharn
	do sonrad, ro gob euan in Erind
<i>ut alias dicitur,</i>	amail asbeart in t-eolach,
	<i>Is and ro gabsadar port.</i>

In eugead uathadh, for
Satharrn, amail ashert in
file,

Cessair can as tāinic sī,

193. Lucht 'tr̄i mbare ²dorsala do Dūn na mBarc, ³do
erīch Choro Duibhne. ⁴Ro báilea dī ⁵bhaire dībh.
⁶Térno ⁷Ceassair, lucht ⁸ōen bairce, ⁹i. ¹⁰cōica ingen
¹¹triar fear, i. Bith mac ¹²Nōe meic Laimiach, dīa
n-aimnígther ¹³Sliabh Beathadh—¹⁴is and ro adhnocht, i.
¹⁵earnn mōr ¹⁶Sléibhi Beathadh. ¹⁷Ladhra lūamh, ¹⁸
'nainmnígther Ārd ¹⁹Ladhrand, ²⁰is é cēt marbh
Érenn.

²⁰rē ndilind, ²¹conas eibil . . . ²²bananaigh; nō ²³sē lunnta in ²⁴reāmha dochuaidh ²⁵a tarbh a sliasta²⁶. Oeus ²⁷cepsi eruth, is ē eēt marbh ērenn.

²⁸Adbearait aroile is e in lenb robaicen airen sa luing leo robaithead i Tibruid Duin na mBara in la rogbadsport, i. Bath mac Beathad, conad de ita in sen-foroel, Ni fagand Bith Bath.

²⁹Findtān mac ³⁰Bochna diadā Feart ³¹Findtāin ḍs Tul Tuinde, ³²Ceassair ḍtā Cuili Ceasrac i Connachtaib.

193. ¹ ceathra	² tra dorala	³ i Coreo Dubne	⁴ ins. 7	⁵ baire
⁶ ins. 7	⁷ Cesair, <i>glossed</i> i. Eriu <i>as before</i>			⁸ a M. ibairce B.
⁹ om. i.	¹⁰ ceucha	¹¹ oen triar fer	¹² Nac	¹³ Shliab Beatha
¹⁴ ins. uair	¹⁵ carn	¹⁶ Slebe	¹⁷ ins. 7: Ladru	¹⁸ Ladrand

三

as one saith	in Coreo Duibne she took harbour.
<i>Poem no. XXVII.</i>	On the fifth unit of the moon, on a Saturday
<i>ut alias dicitur,</i>	to be precise, she took port in Ireland, as the learned saith,
	<i>Poem no. XXVIII.</i>

On the fifth unit [of the moon] on a Saturday, as the poet saith,
So that of the adventures of Cessair and of her route, the poet saith thus,

Poem no. XXIII

193. The crew of three ships arrived at Dun na mBarr, at the territory of Corco Duibne. Two of their ships were wrecked. Cessair, with the crew of one ship, escaped—fifty women and three men: Bith s. Noe s. Lamech, of whom is (named) Sliab Bethad: there was he buried, in the great stone-heap of Sliab Bethad. Ladra the Pilot, from whom is named Ard Ladrand—he is the first dead man of Ireland

before the Flood, so that he died of female [excess]; or it is the stem of the oar that penetrated his buttock. Whatever form it took, he was the first dead man of Ireland.

Others say that it was the child who was not reckoned in the ship with them who was drowned in the well of Dun na mBairc on the day when they took harbour—Bath a. Bith, whence is the old saying, Bith leaves not Bath,

And Fintan s. Bochna, from who is "Fintan's Grave" over Tul Tuinde named; and Cessair from whom is named Cuile Cessrach in Connachta.

¹⁹ doig is e ²⁰ ria ²¹ conis ²² -nigh B ²³ is e lunda ²⁴ raime
²⁵ i ²⁶ ins. and ²⁷ cepi ²⁸ in M only. ²⁹ i Fintan ³⁰ Bochra diata
³¹ Fintain oc T. Tuindi ³² Ceasair diata Carn Ceasrach i Condacthaib.

194. Ocus dolodar cona mnāibh co ¹Mileadhach, ¹Bun Sūinbhi in inbaidh sin ⁴ba hainm dō, i. sūaineam ⁵Siūiri ¹sūaineam ⁶Beōri ¹sūaineim Bearbha; ¹is ē sin Comar ⁸na Trī ⁹nUisci do ¹⁰cumase na trī ¹¹n-abonn ¹²ann. Ocus ¹³roindseat ann in ¹⁴cāoga ingean ar trī, ¹¹⁵rug Findtān Ceassair do rogain ¹¹⁶sē mnā ¹⁷dēg maille fria. ¹⁸Rug Bith secht mnā ¹⁹dēc um Barrfīnd, ²⁰Rug Ladhra sē mnā dēc im Balbha, ¹fa ²¹dīmgach de. Ocus doluidh leo ²²in Ard Ladhrand, ¹rl.

195. Ocus dolodar na ¹sē mnā dēg co ²Ceassair ¹dar ēis Ladra, ¹¹atbertsad: Crēd dodēnum budheasta? ⁴Faidhig Ceassair teachta co Bith dia ⁵fiarfaigh craed doghēndais na mnā. Doluidh imorro Bith eo hāit a ⁶mbī Findtān, ¹raindseat in cāoga bān ar dhō, ¹ruc Bith ⁸cūig mnā fichef dīb co Sliab Beathadh ⁹a tūaiscert Ērenn, ¹¹⁰atbath and.

196. Īar sin lodar in bandtrocht ar ¹cūlu, eo hāirm ²a roibhi Ceassair ¹Findtān. ³Foīāidh iaron, Findtān ar ⁴teitheadh na mban tar Bun Sūainmhe, i. tar Siūir, ⁵tar Sliab Cūa ⁶a Cenn Fheabrad meic ⁷Shin, ¹lāmh clē rē Sinaind ⁸sair co Tul Tuindi ⁹Loch ¹⁰Deirgdere. Doluidh imorro ¹¹Ceassair co Cūil ¹²Cearach ¹a ¹³bandtracht lē, ¹¹⁴moighidh a eraidhi ¹⁵indti do ingas a fir ¹do ēg ¹⁶a bathar ¹¹⁷do ¹⁶easbaigh a ¹⁷brathar.¹⁸ || Ocus ro forbadh ¹⁹andsin in n-aimsir Ó Ādhamh co dīlind acht sē ²⁰lāithe den aimsir.

Sē bliadna ²¹cāocat ar sē ²²cētaibh ar mile Ó ²³thossach domain ²⁴conuige—

in ²⁵aimsir sīn:

sin, dia ndebarit in file
Ced aimscar in beathad bind

194. ¹Mileadhach ²ins. co ³Suainni ⁴fa ⁵Suire ⁶Beōri
⁷eam ⁸om. na ⁹nUisqi ¹⁰chumase ¹¹naband ¹²om. ann
¹³ro randsad andsin ¹⁴chaeca ingen ¹⁵rue Findtān Ceassair ¹⁶secht
¹⁷dec mailli ria ¹⁸occus ruc ¹⁹dec im Barraind ²⁰occus rucustair
Ladra ²¹dimdach don roind he. ²²inn.

195. ¹secht mnā dee ²Cesair tareis Ladraind ³adbeartadar tra,
... Craed dodenamni fodeasta ⁴ro faidistair Ceassair techta ⁵fiarfaide
dodendais ⁶mbī Fintan ⁷ro roindseat na mnā ar do ⁸coic ⁹i
¹⁰adbath.

194. And they came with their women to Miledach. At that time its name was Bun Suainme, i.e., the confluence of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, which is called the Meeting of the Three Waters, from the mingling of those three rivers. And there they divided the fifty women into three shares. Fintan took Cessair for choice, and sixteen women with her: Bith took seventeen women including Barrfīnd: Ladra took sixteen women including Banba, and was dissatisfied thereat. And he went with them to Ard Ladhrand, etc.

195. And the sixteen women came to Cessair [after <the death of> Ladra,] and they said: What shall we do now? Cessair sent messengers to Bith to ask what the women should do. Bith came to the place where Fintan was, and they divided the fifty women into two shares: and Bith took twenty-five women of them to Sliab Beta in the north of Ireland, and he died there.

196. Thereafter the women went back, to the place where Cessair and Fintan were. Then Fintan escapes, a-fleeing from the women, across Bun Suainme, that is, across the Suir, over Sliab Cua in the headland of Febra son of Sin, left hand to the Shannon eastward, to Tul Tuinde over Loch Dergdeire. Moreover Cessair came to Cul Cessrach and her women with her, and her heart brake within her on account of the absence of her husband, the death of her father, [and the loss of her brother]. And then the Age was completed from Adam to the Flood, save six days of the Age.

One thousand six hundred fifty and six years from the beginning of the world till—

that time,

then, whereof the poet said
Poem no. XXIX.

196. ¹culaib ²i roibe Cesair ¹Findtān ²Mar do chondaire sin
Findtān ro claid ⁴teichead ⁵ins. ¹⁶co Cendabrad ⁷Sin ⁸om. ruit
⁹Dergdere ¹⁰Cesair ¹¹Cheasra i Condachtaib ¹²bandtrocht
¹³moidis ¹⁴na clab innti an izingnais ¹⁵a *dittographed*: a brathar B
¹⁶easbaid ¹⁷hathar B ¹⁸ins. i. Ladra luam ¹⁹annsin in aimsir
²⁰lae ²¹caecad ²²chedaib ²³thossach ²⁴conico sin ²⁵above
aimsir, in B, no i mbliadain.

7 is d'aimsir Adhaim domidh-
ter in gabhail so Cheasrach.
Conadh do sin ro can in fili in
duan—

Doig is don aimsir sin Adaim
do miditheat in gobail-sea
Cheasrach, conaid desin rochan
in t-eolach—

Cethracha trāth don tūr tīnd.

197. 'Is iad so imorro anmarda in ²eaogad ingen sin
‡ ro ³imraidiimar inncoch || robadar ⁴a fail Ceasrach.

⁵Ceasair, Lot, Luam, Mil, Marr, Feochair, Femair, Failbi,
Forall, Cipir, Torand, Tamall, Tam, Abba, Ella, Ruiene, Sille;
mnā Findtāin sin. Barrann, Selba, Della, Duba, Dos, Fothar,
Traigia, Nera, Banda, Tamall, Tama, Nathra, Leos, Fodord,
Dos, Clos, Las; mnā Beathad sin. Balbo, Bona, Allbor, Ail,
Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rogairg, Raindi, Iacor, Ain,
Rind, Easpa, Sinde, Samall; mnā Ladraindi sin.

Ut Findtān cecinit

Cāin raind do raindsemar etrond.

Ocus nīr gabb neach do cloind Ādham rēn dīlī Ērinn
acht sain namā.

198. Andsin bliadain deircanaig re ndilind 'tanic Cesair in Erind', uair
airmid eolaig na cronicad nach roibi Cesair beo in Erinn acht se laithi
roim dilind: ocus nīr bo beo ²deis dileann don gobail sin Cheasrach aeh
Fintan na aenur. O dilind co Habram da bliadain nochat ar dib cetaib,
7 ni hairmiter comaimsearrdacht risin acht clanna Noc uile ic imdegud 7
Fintan na aenur in Erind risi sin. O Abram eo Dauid imorro dā bladan
seseat ar nōi cetaib eturru-sin: is andsin tindseainter comaimsearrdacht.
Nin mac Peil imorro, cet rig na nAsarrda, Jii. Isin dara bliadain cethrachat
do rigi Nin, do genead Abram. Isin deachmad bliadain aisi Abraim, bas
Nin, Samiramis a. bean Nin a rigi da eis fen, xlu. Bas Airifacsat meie
Sem 7 Failleach meie Airifacsat isin re sin. Zaineus a. Ninias mac Nin
meic Peil 7 Samiramis a mathair, eche mbliaidna trichad do, 7 ni airmidtear
acht ceathra bliadna da flaitlius in tan teasta Nae mac Laimiach. Isin
seascadmad bliadain aisi Abraim tanic Parrthalon in Erinn, 7 isin sesed
bliadain flaitliusa Ninias meic Nin meic Peil.

197. ¹Atiat andso ²chaecaid ³-eamar romaind neoch ⁴i fail
Cheasrach ⁵this list omitted B ⁶conad doib sin adfet in file.

and it is to the Age of Adam
this Taking of Cessair is es-
timated: so that thereof the
poet sang the poem

Certainly it is to that Age
of Adam that this Taking of
Cessair is estimated, so that
thereof the learned sang

Poem no. XXIV.

197. Now these are the names of those fifty women
[whom we have mentioned], who were in the company
of Cessair:

Cessair, Lot, Luam, Mil, Marr, Feochair, Femair, Failbi,
Forall, Cipir, Torand, Tamall, Tam, Abba, Ella, Ruiene, Sille;
those are the women of Fintan. Barrann, Selba, Della, Duba,
Dos, Fothar, Traigia, Nera, Banda, Tamall, Tama, Nathra, Leos
Fodord, Dos, Clos, Las; those are the women of Bith. Balbo,
Bona, Allbor, Ail, Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde, Rogairg,
Raindi, Iacor, Ain, Rind, Easpa, Sinde, Samall; those are the
women of Ladra.

Ut Fintan cecinit

Poem no. XXV.

None of the children of Adam took Ireland before the
Flood save those only.

198. In the last year before the Flood Cessair came into Ireland: for
the learned men of the Chronicles reckon that Cessair was not alive in
Ireland save only six days before the Flood: and of that Taking of
Cessair there was not alive after the Flood any, but Fintan only. From
the Flood to Abraham are two hundred ninety and two years, and no
synchronism is reckoned therewith except all the children of Noe increasing,
with Fintan alone in Ireland at the same time. From Abraham to David,
however, there are nine hundred sixty and two years: then it is that
synchronism begins. Ninus son of Belus, first king of the Assyrians, 52
[years]. In the forty-second year of the reign of Ninus was Abram born.
In the tenth year of the age of Abram was the death of Ninus. Samiramis,
wife of Ninus, in the kingship after himself, 45 years. The death of
Arfaxad son of Sem and of Faleg son of Arfaxad (sic) in that time.
Zaineus, that is, Ninias s. Ninus s. Belus, and Samiramis was his mother,
38 years had he: and only four years of his reign are reckoned when Noe
s. Lamech died. In the sixtieth year of the age of Abram came Partholon
into Ireland: in the sixth year of the reign of Ninias s. Ninus s. Belus.

198. ¹This 7 in M only
²the d underdotted.

¹⁻¹these words om. and ins. above the line

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION III.

XXI.

R¹ ¶ 165 (L 2 δ 4: F 4 β 13). R² ¶ 172 (V 3 a 39 *only*).
 R³ ¶ 186 (B 12 β 3: M 271 γ 31).

1.	¹ Hēriu, ² cia ³ fiaffaigther ⁴ dim, ⁵ atā ⁶ lim ⁷ eo ⁸ grind, ⁹ each ¹⁰ gabāil ¹¹ ros gab ^ō ¹² thūs ¹³ betha bind.	695
2.	¹ Doluid ² anair ³ Cessair, ⁴ ingen ⁵ Betha in ⁶ ben; cona ⁷ eōicait ⁸ ingen, ⁹ cona ¹⁰ triar ¹¹ fer.	700
3.	¹ Tarraigd ² diliu Bith ⁱ n-a ³ Shleib, ⁴ cen ⁵ rūn : ⁶ Ladra ⁷ i nArd ⁸ Ladrand, ⁹ Cessair ¹⁰ i n-a ¹¹ Cul.	705
4.	¹ Mad misi romadnacht, Mac Dē din, ūas druing : ro seib dim in ² dilin ^ō s Tul Tuindi thruim.	710
5.	Bliadain ¹ dam ² lo dilind ³ ⁴ i ⁵ Taul ⁶ Tuinne ⁷ tend; ⁸ nī fuaras dom tomaltus ⁹ aen- ¹⁰ ehodlad ¹¹ bud ¹² ferr.	

1. ¹Eri F Eiriū M ²ce FM già V ³fiaffaigther LF (-ter F)
 fiaffaiger V fiaffaigear B fiaffaidear M ⁴dom V ⁵ita M ⁶lium V
⁷gu B ⁸grinn F ⁹guch VB ¹⁰gabal LFV gabhail B
¹¹dogab F regab B rusgob M ¹²tus F ¹³bethad FV beathad B
 beatha M.

2. ¹Cessair luid anair V doluid L doluid F doluid M doluidh B
²anoir M ³Cessar F Ceassair B Ceasair M ⁴ingin F ingean B
⁵Beth V Beathadh *and om.* in B Beatha M ⁶bind V bean R⁷ caeacaid
 V laid B caeacid M ⁸ingin F ⁹ins. is FV: cana F ¹⁰ins.
 haen B: triur L *ar others* ¹¹fear B fear VM.

THE VERSE TEXTS OF SECTION III.

XXI.

1. Ireland—whatever is asked of me
 I know pleasantly,
 Every taking that took her
 from the beginning of the tuneful world.

2. Cesair came from the East,
 the woman was daughter of Bith;
 with her fifty maidens,
 with her three men.

3. Flood overtook Bith
 in his Mountain, it is no secret :
 Ladra in Ard Ladrand,
 Cessair in her Nook.

4. But as for me, He buried me,
 The Son of God, above [the] company :
 He snatched the Flood from me
 above heavy Tul Tuinde.

5. I had a year under the Flood
 in strong Tul Tuinde;
 I found nothing for my sustenance,
 an unbroken sleep were best.

3. ¹tarraigd V tarraigd B tairraigd M ²diliu in F diliu B ³sleib
 FVB sleib M ⁴can F gan B ⁵rúin L ⁶Ladru LV Ladhra B
⁷i n-a ard V ⁸Ladran F Ladrand B ⁹ins. is M: Cessair
 in cul V Ceasair M ¹⁰om. i M: om. n-a V ¹¹cúil LBM.

4. ¹ *This quatrain in M only* ²diliu MS.

5. ¹damh B ²fa B ³ins. déin LB ⁴sic L, *& others*
⁵sio L, Tul *others* ⁶Tuindi FM Tuinde VB ⁷thend L tend *following*
erasure of three letters V teann B theann M ⁸nī fuaras nī im thomaltus
 L nī uarus am F nī fuarus V nī fuarus im thomaltus B nīr codlad nī
 coiteltar M ⁹om. aen L en VBM ¹⁰cotlud L cotludh V colludh B
¹¹bo F bad LM budh B ¹²ferr V fearr B¹³.

6. ¹Missi ²i nĒirind ³sund,
 ⁴ba ⁵suthain mo ⁶sēt,
 ⁷conostoracht ⁸Partholōn,
 ⁹anair a tir ¹⁰Grēe. 715

7. ¹Missi ²sund i nĒirind,
 ³is i ⁴Ēriu ⁵fās,
 ⁶eo toracht mae ⁷Agnomain—
 ⁸Nemed, ⁹niamda ¹⁰a gnās. 720

8. Fir ¹Bolg ²is Fir ³Galian
 ⁴tāncatar, ⁵ba cian;
 ⁶tāncatar Fir ⁷Domnand,
 ⁸gabsat ⁹irrus ¹⁰thiar. 725

9. ¹Iārsin ²tānie ³Tūath Dē
 ⁴i n-a ⁵cāebaib cīach;
 ⁶comba ⁷tormailt damsā,
 ¹⁰cīar bo ¹¹sāegal cīan. 730

10. ¹Tāncatar Meic ²Miled,
 a ³Hespāin ⁴andess,
 ⁵comba ⁶tormailt damsā
 ⁷friu, ⁸cīar thrēn a ⁹tress. 735

11. Do ¹roacht ²sāegul sīr
 ³damsā, ⁴nocho ⁵chēl;
 ⁶economtharraig ⁷creitem⁸
 ō ⁹Rīg ¹⁰Nime nēl.

6. ¹misē L misi FM ²in Herind L in Er. F ind Erind V an Erinn B
 ³sunn FB ⁴fa R⁵ ⁶suastin L ⁷set F sed R⁸ ⁹conas FVB conus M
 ¹⁰Partalon F Parralon V Parrholon B Parrthalon M ¹¹amoir VR¹²
 Greg R¹³.

7. ¹messe L misi FM; misi in Er (6ig isé) Eriu, bracketed words ins.
 sec. man. in rasura V ²in Herind fós L an Erinn sunn FB in Erinn fós M
 ³sisi LM ⁴Heriu L Eriu B Eri M ⁵fass FV ac fas M ⁶eo tanic L
 contoracht V ⁷Agaon L Agnamaid F Adnomain V ⁸Nemid F
 Nemedh V Neimead R⁹ (-dh B) ¹⁰om. a, gnass V
 a għnas B anas M.

8. ¹Bolg VM ²7 B ³Galiōn L Gailoin F Gaileon B Galian M
 ⁴tangadar B (bis) -cadar FM (bis, except second time F) ⁵fa M
 ⁶-nanu F ⁷-sad FM gabhsad B ⁸ins. in L: irruss FV hirrus M
 ⁹tiar R¹⁰.

6. I was in Ireland here,
 my journey was everlasting,
 till Partholon reached her,
 from the East, from the land of Greeks.

7. I was here in Ireland,
 and Ireland was desert,
 till the son of Agnomain reached—
 Nemed, brilliant his fashion.

8. The Fir Bolg and Fir Gailian
 came, it was long ago:
 the Fir Domnann came,
 they landed on a headland in the west.

9. Thereafter the Tuath De came,
 in their masses of fog,
 so that there was sustenance for me
 though it was a long lifetime.

10. The sons of Mil came
 from Spain, from the south,
 so that there was sustenance for me
 at their hands, though they were strong in battle.

11. A long life fell
 to my lot, I shall not conceal it;
 till Faith overtook me
 from the King of Heaven of clouds.

9. ¹sio VB, -sain others ²tancatar R³V tancadar D tangadar B
 ⁴Tuatha L ⁵om. i FR⁶: om. a V ⁷caipab L caebaib B
 ⁸ins. cian R⁹E¹⁰ ¹¹cian como L coma FM go mba B ¹²tormalt LV
 the dam of damsā ditto graphed and expuncted B ¹³ins. friu R¹⁴B riu M
 ¹⁵cebo F gerbo C cerbom M ¹⁶saegul L.

10. All MSS. prefix a hypermetric iarsain (LV) or iarsin (FR¹) ²tangadar B
 ³Milid R⁴ Miledh V Mileadhl B ⁵Espain F Heaspain R⁶ ⁷anes R⁸
 aneass V an dheas B aneas M ⁹como L eoma FR¹⁰ ¹¹tormalt LV
 ¹²riu R¹³ ¹⁴cerb tren F ger thren V gerbo tren (a letter erased before
 tren) B cer bo tren M ¹⁵treas FM tress V treas B.

11. ¹sio L, others riacht ²sic LB others saegul ³-mh- B ⁴noca F
 ⁵cel V a faint mark like a small i above the e, of no apparent significance F
 ⁶sio L imtarraig F im taraid me V conamtarraig B coraintarraid (the first
 three letters yo) M ⁷sic L, creidim F credim V -dem B -deam M
 ⁸ins. 6g L ⁹righ B ¹⁰nime F nime na nell B nimi nell M; nell also V.

12. ¹Missa ²Fintān ³find
mac ⁴Bochna, nī chēl;
⁵d'ēis na ⁶dilend ⁷sund
⁸am ⁹sruith ¹⁰ūasal ¹¹ēr.

12. ¹mis L is me M. ²Findtan VB ³finn F ⁴Bochra LM
⁵deiss V ⁶dilind F dileann B dilinn M ⁷sunn F ⁸im F fam M

740

XXII.

R¹ ¶ 168 (F 4 γ 30). R² ¶ 173 (V 3 β 11; E 2 γ 13;
R 76 B a 30 [*first line only*]; D 5 a 21). R³ ¶ 188 (B 12 β 50;
M 271 δ 42).

1. Capa ²is ³Laigni ⁴is ⁵Luasad ⁶grind,
⁷badar ⁸bliadain ⁹riā ¹⁰ndilind
for inis ¹¹Banba na ¹²mban;
¹³badar ¹⁴co calma ¹⁵comglan. 745

2. Do ¹riachtatar ²Érinn ³huill
cian ó ⁴Cholomnaib ⁵Ercuill;
rogabsat ⁶righe ar ⁷each ⁸dinn,
⁹robói ¹⁰ind ¹¹Hérinn for a ¹²ciond. 750

3. Sāer γ līaig luaiter sin,
ocus iaseairi angbaid:
cēt triar thānic sund re sel,
an inis mōir Mae Milead.

4. Is ¹ed ²dosfuec ³asa ⁴tig
in triar—⁵ingnad ⁶anaichnid—
do ⁷chur lin ⁸i n-uisgi ⁹n-ūar;
¹⁰co riachtatar in ¹¹cāem-chūan. 755

1. ¹Cappa R'M ²om. R² ³Laighne VB Laigne M ⁴om. R²
⁵Luasad R² ⁶grinn DE ngrind B ⁷batar R² bhadar B ⁸bliadin F
⁹re n- B roim M ¹⁰om. n- DM ¹¹Banba EB ¹²mbagh VE mbag D
¹³gabsat R² (bh E) ¹⁴gu B ¹⁵comlan R² (mh E).
2. *this quatrain om. R'R'* ¹adar DE ²Herind V Her- D
³ull VE ⁴Columnaib V -uib D -mh- E ⁵Hircuill VD Iarehuill E
⁶rigi V rige D ⁷gach V ⁸dind VD ⁹robui VD ¹⁰in VD
¹¹Erind V Herind D ¹²chind V cind D.

OF SECTION III.

12. I am Fintan the white
son of Bochna, I shall not conceal it;
after the Flood here
I am a noble great sage.

⁹tssruth F sruth M ¹⁰written uasal :: er :: F ¹¹hér L eir VBM.

XXII.

1. Capa and Laigni and pleasant Luasad,
they were a year before the Flood
over the Island of Banba of the women;
they were valorous and equally pure.

2. They reached great Ireland
far from the Pillars of Hercules;
they took kingship over every hill-fort
that was in Ireland before them.

3. As a wright and a leech are those celebrated,
and a ruthless fisherman :
they were the first three men who came here for a
space,
into the great island of the sons of Mil.

4. This is what took them out of their dwelling—
the three—a wonder unheard-of!
For setting nets into cold water;
and so they reached the fair haven.

3. *This quatrain in M only.*

4. ¹ead B sead M ²dosfuc FVDM dosfug B ³as o F assa V
⁴tigh VB tich DE ⁵-adh B ⁶anaichnid VM anaichid D anaithnigh B
⁷cur FBM ⁸an uisgi F an us. V in us. D in usqi E in uisge B an uisqi M
⁹om. n- VDM (uair D) fuar B: uar with prefixed f ye E ¹⁰gu riachtadar
B no eo rancadar M: riachtadar also E ¹¹cain F coem- VM caom- D
chaem- E: -euan B.

5. *Ó* ¹do ²riachtatar in ³cúan
do ⁴chur a lín—⁵do bo ⁶trúag—
⁷rodoſeidis in ⁸gáeth grinn
⁹ádó ¹⁰Esbáin ¹¹eo ¹²Hérinn. 760

6. ¹Ó do riaehtatar ²Érinn,
in triar ³trénfer ⁴can creidim,
⁵do ⁶síred leo ⁷Ériu aín
⁸áda Lí-indber co ⁹Espain. 765

7. ¹Órbdar cõlaig in ²each ³tír
⁴sechnóin iath ⁵Banba ⁶co mbríg,
⁷do ⁸thriallatar, nir ⁹bo gar,
¹⁰techt ar ¹¹cúl ar ¹²eenn ¹³a mban. 770

8. Tan ro ¹thriallsat in ngním nglé—
²tuidecht ar ³cúl ⁴doris—
⁵dosfarraid in ⁶díliu-dil
eo ⁷rusbáig ie ⁸Tuaig ⁹Indbir. 775

9. Is ¹iad ²sin ³tesmolta in trír
⁴céit gabsat ⁵Érinn ⁶co mbríg :
⁷facsat ⁸Érinn ⁹can ¹⁰máca,
¹¹Luasad, ¹²Laigni, ¹³is ¹⁴Capa. 775

5. ¹do ditto graphed and expuncted F; ro R² da M ³siachtatar R²
(-dar E) riachtadar R² ⁴qan D ⁵eur FB chor VD ⁶ba leer
truag R² (lor D); ro R³ ⁷truagh E thruag M ⁸rodiseidis F
rodoſeit M: rosseit (rosceit D roſeit E) gáeth fri gluaire ngrinn (ngrend
V) co (ind glossed no co D) hinber (inber D) n-uaine (om. n- E) nErend
(an Er. E) R⁴ ⁹ngaeth ngrind B gach' grind M ¹⁰sic F ota R⁵
¹¹Espan B Espan M ¹²gu B ¹³Herind R⁶.

6. ¹o do lobar (lotar VD) co H. R² o da riachtadar R³ ²Erind M
³trenfer V treinf. D -fear B ⁴adfeidim R²M gan creidhim B ⁵ro
símisit (-set DE; s for s DV) fo (co V) Herind (Heir, D) n-ain R² ⁶sírid
F sireadh R² ⁷Ern B ⁸ado F otha ind (inn n- D) inber R² seolaidh
aisdi B triallsad esti M ⁹Hesp- DEV Heasp- R².

7. ¹or hat eolach R² orbdar eolagh B o rob eolach M ³gach B
⁴thir VDMB ⁵sechnon V sethmo DE seachnoin B seachnon M ⁶mBanba
R²B (-bae E) ⁷eon brig F gu mbrígh B ⁸to R² ⁹t for th in

5. When they reached the harbour
for setting their nets—what a pity!
the pleasant wind blew them
from Spain to Ireland.^(a) 760

6. When they reached Ireland,
the three champions without religion,
noble Ireland was explored by them
from the Li-estuary to Spain. 765

7. After they had knowledge of every region
throughout the land of Banba with virtue,
they endeavoured—it was no short [journey]—
to return for their wives. 770

8. When they attempted the glorious deed—
coming back again—
the Flood-fate overtook them
and drowned them at Tuad Inbir. 775

9. Those are the details of the three,
the first who invaded Ireland with valour.
They left Ireland without progeny,
Luasad, Laigni, and Capa. 775

almost all MSS. -satar R²R³ (thrials. D -dar ER²) ⁹bho B ¹⁰tocht B
teacht M ¹¹culu VE cula D ¹²cend V ¹³aman F.

8. This quatrain in R² only ¹thrialsat D triallsat E ²tudhecht E
³q¹ D ⁴doris D ⁵-uidh DE ⁶dile D ⁷rusbáig V rusbaid E
rosbaid D ⁸-gh VE ⁹inbir D, others -ber.

9. ¹iat R² ²sain D ³tesmolta F testmolta V tessmalta E
teasmolta B ⁴cet gabsad F cetna gab R² cet gabhsad B ced gobsad M
⁵Erind VM Her. D Banba B ⁶co mbrígh E gu mbrígh B ⁷fagsat VB
facsat D facsad M ⁸Her. V Eir. D Erind B ⁹cen VE ein D gan B
¹⁰máeo V maca D macu E maceu M ¹¹Luasat VD Luassatt E Sluasad R²
¹²Laighe VEB Laigne DM ¹³sic, E, others 1 ¹⁴Cappa R²M.

(a) At the end of this quatrain there is a note in D, partly cut away: *Mis Muirges* ⁷ is mor in scel adcluimim i. [about 14 letters lost] *ide . . . na Herenn,*

XXIII.

R¹ ¶ 169 (F 4 δ 31). R² ¶ 176 (V 3 β 50: E 2 γ 41: D 5 γ 6: R [first quatrain only] 76 B β 21). R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 51: M 272 β 19).

1. ¹Cessair, ²can as ³tānic sī,
⁴a triar ⁵ar ⁶choicait ⁷eo li?
Dia Mairt ⁸ro ⁹glūais, ¹⁰garb in ¹¹seēl,
¹²ōtā ¹³indsib ¹⁴Meroēn. 780

2. ¹Deic ²mbliadan dī ³i nĒgypt aird
⁴fri ⁵tāeb ⁶na n-airir ⁷nirt-gairb:
⁸fichi trāth dī ⁹i n-aire, ¹⁰een aisc,
¹¹dar⁸ ¹²muineind Mara mōr¹³Chaisp. 785

3. ¹Dā trāth ²dēc ³dī ⁴ō ⁵Muir ⁶Caisp ⁷chrom
co ⁸riacht ⁹Cimerda ¹⁰trom:
¹¹trāth ¹²dī ¹³i nAissia ¹⁴Bie, ¹⁵sel sīar,
¹⁶idir ¹⁷Aissia is ¹⁸Muir ¹⁹Torriān. 790

4. ¹Fichi trāth ²dī ³ō ⁴Aissia ⁵Bie,
⁶seōlad ⁷eo ⁸Halpa ⁹n-ordaire;
¹⁰fri ¹¹rē nāi trāth ¹²luid ¹³alle,
¹⁴eo ¹⁵huillind ¹⁶n-aird ¹⁷nEspāine.

1. ¹Ceassair F Cessair R Ceasair R² ²eid dia R³ (eidl E) ³tanic
VM tanuig D tainig B ⁴om. R²B ⁵ins. fer R²R³ ⁶laid F chaceait V
caechait E choicad D coecait R Ia B chaecaid M ⁷fo R² ⁸do B
⁹ghl- E ¹⁰garb isen B ¹¹sen R²R³ (an sen R) ¹²ado F otha REB
oda R³ ¹³hindsib FB innsi VDR indse E ¹⁴Meroēn F Meroen R²
(Maraoen R) Mara Hen R³.

2. ¹secht R² cuic M ²om. m. M ³an Egipt F an Egipt E;
Egipt also VB Egept M ⁴re R²R³ ⁵taebh B ⁶cach (gach E)
airir imaird R² cach n-airir nirt-gairg M ⁷garb FR² neart-gairg B
⁸ocht trath dece (dec V) i (a yo E) mbaire (ee E) nirb aise os (aise
oss E) R²: x. trath B ⁹a naire F anoir M ¹⁰can F gan B cen M
¹¹ar B eo M ¹²muineind V muineinn E muinciund D ¹³Caisp R² Casp B.

3. ¹fichi R² da .x. di M ²deg FB ³om. R² ⁴ar F R² ho V

XXIII.

1. Cessair, whence came she,
her three men and fifty with complexion?
A Tuesday she set forth, rough the story,
from the islands of Meroe.

2. Ten years had she in lofty Egypt
alongside the coast of rough might:
twenty days had she in an ark, without reproach,
over the surface of the great Caspian Sea.

3. Twelve days had she from the crooked Caspian Sea,
till she reached the heavy Cimmerian [Sea]:
A day in Asia Minor, a space westward,
between Asia and the Torrian Sea.

4. Twenty days had she from Asia Minor,
a-sailing to the glorious Alps:
for a space of nine days she went hither,
to the lofty corner of Spain.

5. Muiri E ⁶Chaisp VDM Casp B ⁷crom B chruim V crum E
chrumm D ⁸muirib ED ⁹in Cimirdaid F Cimerda V Cimero E
Cimeri D in Cimirdha B in Chimearda M ¹⁰comtrum V, apparently also
DE, but unintelligibly contracted (cm) ¹¹ins. aen M ¹²om. M
¹³dAissia VE dAissia D an Aissia B in Aisia M ¹⁴bicc D bhig B
om. M ¹⁵seal B ¹⁶etir VE itir DM ¹⁷Siria R² Assia B Asia M
¹⁸mur F ¹⁹Toirrian VDM Thorr. B.

4. ¹fiche D ²om. R² ³ond R² in FM an B ⁴Aissia VDB Asia E
Asia M ⁵bicc E bhig BM ⁶ins. ie R² (hic VD): seoladh B ⁷d¹ R²
⁸Elpa R² Healpa B Helpa M ⁹n-ordaire F airrdirec V airdirec ED
nurrdraic B noirrdrie M ¹⁰fri (om. V) ocht trath (om. E) dec (dece E)
tanic (ossin V tanic E) ille (hille D) R² ¹¹rae nae F ¹²luidh B
¹³ale F ille M ¹⁴gu B ¹⁵hullid F huillinn V ¹⁶om. n- FM n-airdd E
¹⁷Eshaine (om. n-) F nEspāne V nEspāne B om. n- M.

5. ¹Assiden ²dī ³i nĒriūn āin
⁴seōlad ⁵nāi ⁶trāth ⁷a ⁸Hespāin :
⁹dia ¹⁰Sepōit, ¹¹sin ¹²cōicet ¹³chlē,
¹⁴tānie ¹⁵ecoscar ¹⁶ār ¹⁷crīche. 795

5. ¹aisiden FM assaide R² asiden B ²om. R² ³an Er. F eo hEr. R²
(hEirind E) in Eirn B: *the i of following āin sec. man. in rasura* ⁴fri
re R² seoladh B ⁵noi R³ x. M ⁶trat B ⁷o E eo D (*the c effaced*)
⁸Esp. F Heasp. B ⁹om. dia DE ¹⁰Sathairnd V Satharn DE

XXIV.

R¹ ¶ 171 (F 5 a 25). R² ¶ 185 (V 3 § 48: E 3 a 20;
D 6 γ 7: R 77 a 17 [*first quatrain only*]). R³ ¶ 196 (B 12 § 41:
M 272 γ 32).

1. ¹Cethracha trāth ²don ³tūr ⁴tind
⁵ro ⁶frith ⁷Ēriū ⁸rē ndilind : 800
⁹Cessair ¹⁰do fuair ¹¹n-a eucht ¹²cain,
lucht ¹³a ¹⁴curraig ¹⁵codal-glain.

2. ¹Ass ²tānie, ³oirdere ⁴in seēl,
⁵ōtā ⁶hindsib ⁷Morahēn,
⁸do Muir ⁹Torrian ¹⁰can ¹¹time, 805
¹²ar ¹³teched na ¹⁴dilinde.

3. Triar ¹fer, ²eoīea ³ingen ard,
⁴fa ⁵hē ⁶a lin ⁷co ⁸racht ro-garg;
⁹rostimairg ¹⁰gāeth, ¹¹grinn in ¹²mod,
eo ¹³Hērinn ¹⁴ar imarchor. 810

1. ¹eetracha FD ecathracha R³ ²dīn VDR ³tūr VER²
⁴dind F thind VE thinn D tinn R thend M ⁵fo frith R² (fofuair E)
⁶frit F ⁷H- V Eire R² (Er. D) Eiriu B Eri M ⁸ria R² ian M
⁹Cesair ER Ceassair B Ceasair M ¹⁰fosfuir VER fofuair DM
fobhuair B ¹¹na euet F fo chnecht R² (eucht ER) ¹²chain VDM
¹³om. B ¹⁴craig, a u sprs. ye F eurairg ERB euraich M ¹⁵euchtfad-
glan F chodalgain R² (codal- E) codhail-glain B eo caemgail M.

2. ¹sic FV as others ²tainic FE tanig DB ³irdraic F (*written*
irdic, with a sprs. to the d. This letter is in a similar hand to the sprs.
u in e(u)raig in the line above, but is not, like that letter, in a different
ink) airdirec V airdeire E nird[er]c D oirrdrac B airrdric M ⁴isec B

OF SECTION III.

221

5. Thence had she into noble Ireland
a sailing of nine days from Spain :
on Sabbath, on the unlucky fifth,
there came the conquering of our country.

Seaboid B Saboid M ¹¹for VER²; dec *after this word sprs. ye* V
¹²u. chle F coicedh VD coicid E cuigedh B ¹³ins. dec ED: cle ED
¹⁴tainic E tainig B ¹⁵do asenam R² (ascam V) guscar B eo hur M
¹⁶om. R² ¹⁷erich F chriche D crich ce B Misi Torna do Murcertach
added here E.

XXIV.

1. Forty days of the rapid search
was Ireland found before the Flood :
Cessair found it in its fair shape,
the crew of her canoe of clean hide.

2. She came forth, glorious the story,
from the islands of Meroe,
to the Torrian Sea without fear,
a-fleeing from the Flood.

3. Three men, fifty tall maidens,
that was her tally with very rough fury :
a wind drove them, pleasant the fashion,
to Ireland a-wandering.

⁵ado F otha R² do B ⁶insi VD innsi E indsi B indsib M ⁷Mora
hen F Meroen R² (Macroen E) Maralcn R² ⁸dar R² tar M ⁹Toirrian R²
Torren B Thoirian M ¹⁰cen VDM gant time E gan B ¹¹timmi D
timi M ¹²for VE ¹³teicid F teichedh V teithedh B teichead M
¹⁴ndi FM nni D.

3. ¹fear B ²l. F caoga E caeca M ³ingin F ⁴ba VEDB
⁵om. he a F; he i B ⁶allin D ⁷fria V fri ED gu B ⁸recht R²
⁹rostimart R² (air with t ye E) ¹⁰gaoth E ¹¹granda V grainne ED
grind B mor M ¹²mogh V an mod E modh B ¹³om. H- F; Heir. E
¹⁴iar n-iomarcor E ar immarchor D ar imochor B.

4. ¹Rainnset ²in triar ³fer ⁴co li
in ⁵coicait ⁶n-ingen ⁷ar trī;
⁸secht mnā ⁹dēe ¹⁰d'Fhintān ¹¹ean tas,
a secht dēc ¹²rue Bith ¹³barr-chas. 815

5. ¹A sē dēc ²rue ³Ladra lōr,
⁴ba ⁵bee ⁶leis sin, ⁷nīr ⁸bo ⁹mōr;
do dul ¹⁰ehuca, ¹¹ba ¹²gnīm ¹³gand,
¹⁴de is marb ¹⁵Ladra ¹⁶i nArd ¹⁷Ladrand.

6. ¹Rainnset ²in ³dīas ⁴aile ⁵i ndō
⁶a ⁷sē ⁸mnā dēc ⁹son ¹⁰iar lō :
¹¹is ¹²iat ¹³cēt fir, ¹⁴fri ¹⁵sāiri ¹⁶seng,
¹⁷taesat ¹⁸fri mnāib ¹⁹i ²⁰nĒrinn. 820

7. ¹Cōje mnā ²fichet ³ruc ⁴Bith ⁵benn
co ⁶hairther ⁷tūaiseert ⁸Ērinn;
⁹co Sliab ¹⁰Betha, ¹¹ōs an muir ¹²mas—
¹³ann ¹⁴tānic a ¹⁵thiugradus. 825

8. De-sin ¹atā ²Sliab ³Betha,
⁴d'ēe ⁵in ⁶lāich ⁷eo lin ⁸ngretha :
do na ⁹mnāib fa mōr in ¹⁰mod,
¹¹isin ¹²tslēib ¹³a ¹⁴adnacol. 830

4. ¹rainset F randsat V randsad EB rannsat D roindsead M ²an E
³fer yc V fear B ⁴go B ⁵l. ingin FB coicait V coicait D caeca M
⁶ingen R³ ⁷a trii V a tri EB hi tri D ⁸ocht E ⁹deg B
¹⁰dintan F do Fintan V d'Fintan EB d'Fintan D ¹¹can tais F gan
¹²tas yc in marg. V, yc E cen tas D adclas B roclós M ¹³rug EB
¹⁴barrehass VB barreas E.

5. ¹a sse dec V a se deg EB se mnā dec M ²rug EB ³Ladru V
Laghr E Ladhra B ⁴fa M ⁵beg EB ⁶les sin VD leisiam B
⁷ins. is R⁶: nir bo *changed by a re-inker* to uirbo V ⁸bu D om. R⁷
⁹lor F ¹⁰chuco V euctha E chuq D chucu R⁸ ¹¹fa M ¹²gniomh E
¹³gann FDB ¹⁴atbath VDB abdath EM ¹⁵Ladran (*but looks like*
-nan) F Ladhra EB ¹⁶an E in nArd B ¹⁷Ladrand ED.

6. ¹rainisid F randsat V randsad an E rannsat D roindsead B roindsead M
²an E ³diass V ⁴aili F oilé E eli D ele B ⁵ar lo R³ ar do R⁴
(dho B) ⁶fa B ⁷xuui. FB sé M ⁸mnaibh B ⁹om. F som VD
sin B ¹⁰ar do V in do E an do D ar lo B ¹¹om. is VED: siat FB

4. The three complexioned men divided
the fifty maidens into three shares:
seventeen women to Fintan without a dwelling,
Curl-haired Bith took seventeen.

5. Ladra the sufficient took sixteen,
he thought it small, not great:
from going to them—it was a mean action—
thence is Ladra dead in Ard Ladrann.

6. The other twain divided into two shares
his sixteen women, on the following day.
They are the first men, with slender nobility,
who foregathered with women in Ireland.

7. Twenty five women did Bith of peaks take
to the north-east of Ireland;
to Sliab Betha, over the beautiful sea—
there came his last liability.

8. Thenee is Sliab Betha [named],
from the death of the warrior with abundance of
outery:
to the women the work was great,
to bury him in the mountain.

¹²jad EM ¹³c. fir F ched M ¹⁴re B om. M ¹⁵saire ED saeri B
¹⁶sing F seing EB ¹⁷taetsad F faiset R² (faisid E) faised M taethsat B
¹⁸re R²R³ ¹⁹an FVEB ind D ²⁰Erenn V.

7. ¹cuic FM eeig E ²ficheat B ficheit M ³rug EB ⁴Bit E
⁵bann F bend V leann B ⁶hart F harthar VED horrihar B hoirthear M
⁷tuaiscirt F indsi R²M thuaiscert B ⁸Herenn VD Heir. E Herend M
⁹coisín VD cusan E ¹⁰Beatha F om. R²Sliab Beathadh B Beathad M
ossin V ¹¹os in EDB os (om. an) M ¹²mas, *last two letters re-inked* F
mass V mhass B ¹³hi R² (a E) and B de M ¹⁴tainic FB tainig E
taniug D thanic M ¹⁵tignadus (sic) F thiugradas R² (-dhass V tiugradhus
E) thiug-flaiteas R².

8. ¹ita M ²sliabh B ³Beathadh B Beathad M ⁴deg FB decc E
deis M ⁵a F an E ⁶laoich E laech D laith B ⁷co lion E collin D
⁸gretha E aigretha D ngreathad B ngreathad M ⁹mnaibh ba mor an
mod E: ba also VD ¹⁰modh VB ¹¹issia V ¹²sléib V tleibh B
tleb M ¹³da V dia B ¹⁴adnacéad F adhnae. E adhnaeol B adnacol M.

9. ¹Doluid ²Fintān ³ria na ⁴mnāib,
⁵dar ⁶Miledach, ⁷fa sūan ⁸sāim :
⁹dar Bun ¹⁰Sūainme ¹¹re snīm slat,
¹²dar ¹³Sliab ¹⁴Cūa, ¹⁵tar ¹⁶Cenn Fhebrat.

10. Íar na ¹n-airther—nūall ²can ³gāi—
⁴doluid ⁵Fintān mae ⁶Bochrāi :
⁷co ⁸rānie, Íar ⁹ndith a ⁹nirt
¹⁰co Tul ¹¹Tuinde ¹¹os Loch ¹²Dergdere. 835

11. ¹Íar sin ²doluid ³Cessair ⁴chain,
⁵co Cūil ⁶Chessra ⁷i ⁸Connachtaib :
⁹conad ¹⁰ann ¹¹dochūala, ¹²íar ¹³ffes,
¹⁴éec a ¹⁵hathar na hēmais. 840

12. ¹Iachtaid in ²ben co ³hachar
⁴d'cis a fir, ⁵d'éc a ⁶hathar :
⁷do mebaid ⁸di, ⁹fa ¹⁰maich mōr,
¹¹a ¹²crīdi ¹²n-a cert-¹³medōn. 845

13. Is ¹iat ²sin, ³úair is bechta,
⁴a ⁵n-aided, a ⁶n-imthechta :
⁷nī ⁸raibi acht ⁹sechtmain ¹⁰namā,
¹¹úadib ¹²cosin ¹³eethracha. 850

9. ¹-luidh VEB ²Fintan VEB ³re FR² ⁴mnaibh FEB
⁵tar M ⁶Miledach F Miledhac V Miledach E Miledach D Miledhach B
Miledach M ⁷ba FB ⁸sam F sāimh B ⁹tar M ¹⁰suanba F
suanmi V suainmi E ¹¹ro VD tar M ¹²tar FB ¹³Sliab B
¹⁴Fuaid M ¹⁵dar R² ¹⁶Cenn Abrad F Cenn Febrat R² (Feab. E -tt D)
Cenn Fhabhrat B cend nAbrad M.

10. ¹nairter FV nairceir E nairrtheir B noirtheir M ²cen V gen D
gan B ³gōi R² ⁴-dh E ⁵Fintan V Findtan EDB ⁶Bochrāi F
Bochrōi E Bochmai B ⁷ranie VM ranuig D ⁸nith F ⁹nert V
neirt EB ¹⁰Tuindi FVM Tuinne D ¹¹co B ¹²Dergert F
Dergdeir DB.

11. ¹íarsain V ²doluidh VB ³Cessair FED Cheasair M ⁴cain R²E
choin M ⁵go B i M ⁶Oesra FR² Geassair B Cheasra M ⁷hi V a E
⁸Conaechtaib FEM (-bh E, also B) ⁹conid R² (-dh V) ¹⁰and V is and R²

9. Fintan came before the women,
over Miledach, it was a pleasant repose :
over Bun Suainme with weaving of rods,
over Sliab Cua, over Cenn Febrat.

10. Behind their breasts—a cry without falsehood—
came Fintan son of Bochna :
till he reached, having lost his strength,
Tul Tuinde over Loch Dergdeire.

11. After that came fair Cessair,
to Cul Cessrach in Connachte :
so that there she heard, after slumber,
of the death of her father in her absence.

12. The woman utters a sharp scream
after her husband, for the death of her father :
thēre brake for her—it was a great sadness—
her heart in her very middle.

13. Those are, for they are accurate,
their death, their adventures :
There was not more than a week
from them till the Forty.

¹¹ do cuala F rochuala R² (roenal [*sic!*] E) ro chualaith B rochualaih M
¹²a F ar R² ¹³feis VDM bfeis E feis B ¹⁴eg FEDB ¹⁵athar F
hegmais FB hegmuis D.

12. ¹iachtais R² iachtaidh B ²bean B ³athar F achar R² (-air V)
gu halalamh B hathlam M ⁴des FM ⁵deg FEDB ⁶athar F hatar B
⁷co ro chnomuigh V co ro chnomuigh E go ro chnomuigh D cor mebaid M
⁸om. R² ⁹ba ED ¹⁰muich VDB muidh E ¹¹cradi F eridhi V
cridhe E craidi B ¹²ina B ¹³medhon E meadow B.

13. ¹iad ER² ²sain V ³iar nuair fechta R² (fechta V fecta D
fechda E) beachta B ⁴n-aidid F naidheth R² (-deidh V -ded D) naigeadh B
noiged M ⁵nimtechta VE nimdechta D nimtheachta B ⁶raibe
(-bhe E) R² roibi B roibe M ⁷sechd- D seachtmair (mh B) R² ⁸ama F
aamba B ⁹uaidib VD uaidhib E uaitib B nathu M ¹⁰comad VD
comadh E cosna B cisin M ¹¹eetracha VE ceathracha (-tra- B) R².

XXV.

R¹ ¶ 171 (L 2 δ 41: F 5 β 30). R² ¶ 178 (V 3 γ 25: E 2 δ 13: D 5 δ 9: R 76 B γ 9 [first line only]). R³ ¶ 197 (B 13 a 15: M 272 δ 24).

1. ¹Cain ²raind ³do ⁴raindsemar ⁵etrond,
⁶Missi is Bith is ⁷Ladra ⁸lond;
⁹ar ¹⁰sith is ¹¹ar ¹²eeill ¹³dorigned,
¹⁴imon ¹⁵eōicait ¹⁶n-ingn. ¹⁷n-oll.

2. ¹Secht mnā ²dēc ³rueus im ⁴Chessair—
⁵Lot, is ⁶Luam, ⁷is ⁸Māil, is ⁹Marr,
¹⁰Froecar, ¹¹Femar, ¹²Faible, ¹³Foroll,
¹⁴Ciper, ¹⁵Torrian, Tamall, ¹⁶Tam,
¹⁷Abba, ¹⁸Alla, ¹⁹Raichne, ²⁰Sille:
²¹is ē ²²līn ²³bāi ²⁴sinne ²⁵and. 855

3. ¹A ²secht ³dēc ⁴rue Bith ⁵re ⁶Bairrfhind—
⁷Sella, ⁸Della, ⁹Duib, Addeos,
¹⁰Fotra, Traige, ¹¹Nera, ¹²Buana,
¹³Tamall, ¹⁴Tanna, ¹⁵Nathra, ¹⁶Leos,
¹⁷Fodarg, ¹⁸Rodarg, ¹⁹Dos, Clos: ²⁰cluinter—
²¹rop iad ²²sin är ²³muinter ²⁴beos. 865

1. ¹caoin E ²roinn yc E an roinn R reind R³ ³ro LR
⁴randsamar L rindsamar F roinnsemar ER rainnsemar D rindsemar B
⁵roindsemar M ⁶edraind FE etroind V etraind D etrainn R adraind B
⁷eadroind M ⁸messe L nisi FEM misse V mise D ⁹Ladru LR²
¹⁰Ladhra B ¹¹lond FD ¹²iar B ¹³sid LFD sidh V sidh B
¹⁴om. F tria R² (tre E) iar B ¹⁵cheill R² cell M ¹⁶doringne L
¹⁷dorigned F dorighned D dorighneadh B ¹⁸immun V iman E ¹⁹eōicait V
²⁰coiceaid D lad B caeca M ²¹ingen LE ningin F ningin D ningean B
²²oll L.

2. ¹seacht B³ ²deg FEB ³rucas F rucussa V -eusa D rugus EB
⁴Cessair FV Chesair E Ceassair B Cheasair M ⁵Loth B Lotis Luama M
⁶Luamma F Luamh E Luamhna B ⁷om. is FVR² ⁸Mil FR² Maen
^(with γ for is following) V Mael E Mael D Milis mBarr M ⁹Barr L
¹⁰Froochair F Fraech is V Fr. (only) E Freaach D Froochair
¹¹Feochair M ¹²Femair FVR² Femair ED ¹³Faibli FEB
¹⁴Failbe VD Failbi M ¹⁵Forall E ¹⁶Ciper R²M ¹⁷Torand F Toiriam

XXV.

1. A just division we shared between us,
myself and Bith and bold Ladra;
for peace and for reason was it done,
in the matter of the fifty magnificent maidens.

2. Seventeen women I took, including Cessair—
Lot, Luam, Mail, Mar,
Froecar, Femar, Faible, Foroll,
Ciper, Torrian, Tamall, Tam,
Abba, Alla, Raichne, Sille:
that is the tale which we were there.

3. Seventeen Bith took, with Bairrfhind—
Sella, Della, Duib, Addeos,-
Fotra, Traige, Nera, Buana,
Tamall, Tanna, Nathra, Leos,
Fodarg, Rodarg, Dos, Clos: be it heard—
those were our people further.

V Tarriam ED Torond B Torann M ¹⁶Tamm VD ¹⁷Aha F Abla VD
Abhla E ¹⁸Ulla L Ealla V Ella M ¹⁹Ruene F Ruichne VD Raichne E
Ruigne B Ruiene M ²⁰Silli F ²¹hise VD ²²lion E ²³bi F
baoi E boi D ²⁴sine F sindé VR³ ²⁵ann FD.

3. ¹om. a R² ²secht M ³ins. mna R²: deg B ⁴rug EB
(dittographed E) ⁵ri L fri R² le R² ⁶Bairind L ED Baraind F
Bairind V Barrfind B Barraind M ⁷Seulla EB Selba DM ⁸Dealla EB
⁹Dubados FM Dib adeos R² (dibi V dibh E) Duba Doss B ¹⁰⁻¹¹torn
away L Foth Traicia F Fota Traice R² (Foda Traighe E Traige D) Fothar
Traigia BM ¹²Nena R² Neara B ¹³Banna F Buanna ED Banda R²
¹⁴Tama FM Tuamna R² Tamma B ¹⁵Natra FV ¹⁶Leoss V
¹⁷Fodare R² (dh E) Fogarg B Fodard M ¹⁸om. M: in other MSS.
uniform with preceding name ¹⁹Doscloss V Doss closs B ²⁰ins. ro L:
cluindter VE cluindtear B ²¹rob iat FB ba hiat R² (hiad E iat D)
robiad M ²²om. L sein V ²³muinnter V muindtear B ²⁴bos
preceded by i scratched out F foss V.

4. ¹A sē dēe ²iarsin ³re ⁴Ladraind :
⁵Aba, ⁶Bona, ⁷Albor, ⁸Ail,
⁹Gothiam, ¹⁰German, ¹¹Aithne, ¹²Inde,
¹³Rodarg, ¹⁴Rinne, ¹⁵Iachor, Ain,
¹⁶Irrand, ¹⁷Espa, ¹⁸Sine, ¹⁹Samoll :
²⁰rop ē sin ²¹ār ²²comand cain.

R² asse V ²iarsain L ³la V ⁴Ladrain F Ladraind VB
Ladrann E Ladrainn D ⁵Alba L Albo FM Balba V Lahra E Labra D
Balbo B ⁶Bonna R² Bana B ⁷om. L sic F Abloir VD Abloir E
Allbor M ⁸om. L ⁹Goithiam R³ ¹⁰Germoe VD Grimo E
Germar M ¹¹Aiche R² om. B ¹²Inne L Inge R² Inde B ¹³Roore R²

870

XXVI.

R² ¶ 174 (V 3 β 31 : E 2 γ 28 : R 76 B α 36 : D 5 B 15).
R³ ¶ 189 (B 12 γ 10 : M 272 α 14).

1. ¹Cessair ²ingen ³Betha bāain,
dalta ⁴Sabaill ⁵meic ⁶Manūail,
in ⁷chēt ⁸ben ⁹chalma ro chind,
¹⁰rogob ¹¹Banba ¹²rīa ndilind.

1. ¹Cesair R Cessair R³: *glossed* i. Eri y M ²ingeann B ³Beathadh

875

XXVII.

R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 46).

Hi cuigeadh uathadh, gan eill,
do ruacht Ceassair in Eirinn :
i n-a secht dee, gan bron,
ro ghabh i port Parrtholan. 880

XXVIII.

R³ ¶ 192 (B 12 γ 47 : M 272 β 15).

Is and ¹ro gabsadar port
²oe ³Dūn na mBare in bandtrocht :
⁴i Cūil ⁵Cearra ⁶i crīhaib Cairn,
hi cūicead ⁷dēe, ⁸dia Sathairn.
¹rogabsadar M ²ig B ³Dunnaire B ⁴hi B ⁵Cearra M

885

XXIX.

R³ ¶ 196 (M 272 γ 28).

Ced aimsear in beathad bind,
oda Adam eo dilind :
se bliadna caeacad, rad ngle,
ar se chedaib ar mile

OF SECTION III.

4. Sixteen thereafter with Ladra :
Alba, Bona, Albor, Ail,
Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde,
Rodarg, Rinne, Iachor, Ain,
Irrand, Espa, Sine, Samoll :
that was our fair company.

Rogarg B Rogairg M ¹¹Ridi F Bind B Rindli M ¹³Iuchair R²
Iacor B ¹⁰Irrind FB Utrrand R² (-unn D) Is Rind M ¹¹Espa R²
¹²Sindi F Sinni R² (-nne E) Sindie R³ ¹³Samall FIR² Samall R²
¹⁴rob FR² ba hiat (liad E iat D) sin R² ¹⁵in R² ¹⁶comond L
comann FDM qmand E coman B.

XXVI.

1. Cessair daughter of enduring Bith,
fosterling of Saball son of Manual,
the first valorous woman who set forth,
who invaded Ireland before the Flood.

R³ (-thad M) ⁴Sabuill VDM ⁵mic D ⁶Manuall RR² ⁷ect VERB
ched M ⁸bean B ⁹calma VERB: ro cinn R ¹⁰rogab VEDR
roghabh B ¹¹Banba B ¹²ri B iar M: ndilinn R.

XXVII.

On the fifth unit, without advantage,
Cessair arrived in Ireland :
on seventeen, without sorrow,
Partholon came to harbour.

XXVIII.

It is there that they came to harbour,
the woman-crowd, at Dun na mBare.
In the Nook of Cessair, in the lands of Carn,
on the fifteenth, on Saturday.

⁶a crīhaib B i crīcaib M ⁷deg B ⁸dia Sathairn B de Saithairn M.

XXIX.

The first age of the tuneful world,
from Adam to the Flood :
fifty-six years, a clear saying,
added to six hundreds and a thousand.

NOTES ON SECTION III.

PROSE TEXTS.

First Redaction.

¶ 166 (= R² ¶ 172, R³ ¶ 186). This ¶, which appears in all three redactions, [with its sequel, which appears in R² (¶ 184)] is probably the only part of the original LG which is contained in LO in its present form. The compiler of LG had no concern with the aborigines, and for his purpose the bare list of pre-Milesian invasions here set forth was quite sufficient to identify the people whom the Milesians found on their arrival in Ireland. It is probable that originally Cessair was not included in the enumeration: the particle *ēm*, found in R²R³, is suggestive of a marginal gloss objecting to her exclusion. Against this is the fact that the number of the invasions is specified (seven in R¹R³, five in R²), and Cessair is needed in each case to fill up this number. But a subsequent adjustment of the numbers is not impossible, and is indeed indicated by the discrepancy in this respect between the redactions. The ¶ follows a tradition differing from that adopted by LO, for it treats the Fir Bolg invasion as consisting of three separate events, enumerated differently—thereby making a total of seven pre-Milesian “takings.” The same tradition of seven takings underlies poem XXXIII (*Sechtmad gabail rodusgab*), but it has a different enumeration: see the poem and the notes thereon (vol. iii). In the R² editorial interference has toned down the discrepancy, cutting out the Fir Domann and the Galloin, and changing the numeral *secht* to *cōic*. The only other differences in the three presentations of the text are glossarial interpolations, easily detected by comparison of the three versions, and sufficiently marked in the printed page. The editorial instincts of the R² have led to interference with the dating of Partholon. Naturally the Milesian invasion was not originally included in this list of pre-Milesian captures, and it is absent from F's version of R¹:¹

¹ But as it appears in L this omission may be accidental, and the interpolation may have been in *Q.

but it was inevitable that the usual myopic glossator should make haste to fill in what he imagined to be an omission. The difference between the glosses in R² (*Gáidil*) and R³ (*Meic Míld*) show that they must come from different hands. Once more R³ testifies to the affinity of F*Q by following the variants of F as against L.

¶ 167 (= R³ ¶ 187). Here F*Q have a variant of the Cessair invasion, independent of the main tradition of PA, and professing to be extracted from the lost historical miscellany called *The Quire of Druim Snechta*, where it probably was an independent saga. It differs from the PA tradition in calling the heroine Banba, and in triplicating the number of the train of women, but in mentioning Ladra only of the male companions. It also dates her arrival 200 years before the Flood, assigns to the colony a stay of 40 years in Ireland, and brings them to an end by means of an epidemic.² This story is thus entirely independent of the Flood-saga, and therefore originally independent of the orthodox Cessair story, though each narrative has contaminated the other to such an extent that they have become almost identical. The division of the women seems to have been unknown to this story: and the Cynocephali introduced into the subsequent Partholon story have no place in the orthodox narrative, unless we are to equate them to the Fomoraig. Keating knows of the Banba story, and of its origin in the Quire of Druim Snechta; but he ignores Cynocephali.

The opening question of the ¶, which appears corruptly in both R¹ and R³, must be the original beginning of PA: for it is found in R² ¶ 174, which knows nothing of the Druim Snechta story of Banba, apart from an interpolation in ¶ 175 peculiar to V.

Ard Ladram is usually identified with Ardamine, on the

² The *Book of Fenagh* contains a long poem which *inter alia* recapitulates the legendary history of Ireland (ed. Kelly and Hennessy, pp. 46-111). In a transcript of this compilation by Micheál Ó Cléirigh, now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels, there is a variant reading of the third quatrain which combines the plague with the forty-day story—reading *In lucht sin bat mairbh do táinb* for the first line of the quatrain. The printed text has *In lucht sin huili ba marb*.

Wexford coast, but the terrestrial identification of dreamland sites is unprofitable.

¶ 168 (= R³ ¶ 188: another version R² ¶ 173). The story of the Three Fishers may have been in PA, but rejected by the compiler who incorporated PA with LO: and returned to the document by later glossators. R³ as usual follows R¹. R¹ and R² clearly take the story from different sources, and R¹ makes it plain that its source is *not* the *Druim Smeachta* book from which the preceding paragraph has been borrowed by F*Q. The story is so drastically condensed that nearly all the interest is squeezed out of it. The three names Capa, Luasat, Laigne, are in the alliterative formula which betrays dioscuric affinities (the prosthetic S in *Sluasad*, R³, is a mere corruption): the *p* in the first name arouses suspicion of a non-Celtic origin. *Tuad Inber*, the estuary of the Bann, is a strange place for the landing of travellers from Spain: if we had the whole story before us, we should probably find a record of long inland voyaging before the final catastrophe. Keating mentions the story (I. v. 2) but adds nothing of importance: he apparently took it from a copy of the shorter version in R².

¶ 169 (= R³ ¶ 189, 192: variant, R² ¶ 176). Just as ¶ 167 preserves the opening words of PA, so ¶ 169, (in L) preserves the opening words of LO: that they belong to the composite book (LO + PA) and not to the originally separate PA, is shown by the plural word *gabalaib*. It is remarkable how the plural of this word is avoided in the original text of LG; even in ¶ 166, where it would be appropriate, we have *na secht tūatha rogabsat*. It seems as though the compiler of LG did not recognize a legitimate "taking" other than that of the Milesians. The word *iarum* in these opening words of L's version shows that predecessors of Cessair were originally enumerated, and have been editorially excised. Such were the Banba and Capa settlements mentioned in previous paragraphs, the three daughters of Cain (Keating I. v. 1) and perhaps Adna son of Bith, who according to Keating (I. vi. 1) was an early post-diluvian; but whose parentage obviously connects him with Cessair, although Keating's authorities link him with Ninus son of Belus.

Presumably in the original PA the Cessair story followed these earlier and vaguer traditions. The heading of LO has been modified by F*Q in order to link on with their preceding interpolations. *Q, as set forth in R³, has few variants; it substitutes *iar tuistin talman* for *ar tūs*; by omission it exposes F's *mad iarsin . . . doluidsem sunn* as a gloss; while itself takes in Cessair's fosterfather Saball s. Manall (*sic*), borrowing him from R² ¶ 174. The short passage common to L, F, but lost from *Q by reason of the substitution of the long voyage-interpolation presently to be commented upon—(*is ē fochond . . . bes noce ria in diliu*) is probably the original statement in PA as to the cause of the voyage.

The voyage-story has been interpolated into F*Q; it is unknown to L. Apparently it is based upon the poem XXIII (*Cessair can as tāinic sī*). It is obviously a mere promenade through a dreamland, the landmarks of which may bear terrestrial names, but have no traceable relation to terrestrial geography.

The following table shows the slight variations in the versions:—

	R ¹ (¶ 169).	R ² ¶ 176.	R ³ ¶ 192.	Poem XXIII
Leave Meroc	Tuesday, 15th	Tuesday	Tuesday, 15th	Tuesday
In (or along) {	10 years	7 years	10 or 7 years	10 years
Egypt	20 days	18 days	20 days	20 days
On Caspian to {	12 days	20 days	12 days	12 days
Caspian to Cimmerian	1 day	1 day	1 day	1 day
Asia Minor	20 days	20 days	20 days	20 days
To Alps	9 days	18 days	9 days	9 days
To Spain	9 days	9 days	9 days	9 days
To Ireland	Saturday, ³ 5th	Saturday, 15th	Saturday, 5th	Saturday, 5th
Arrive Ireland				

³*Cōic uathad*, which we have translated as literally as may be "a unitary five," is merely a verbal expression of the numeral "05," i.e. 5 not preceded by any number in the decimal place. It voices, in an interesting way, the notorious and fatal deficiency in early European systems of numerical notation—the absence of a special symbol for zero: and the exasperating clumsiness of the numerical system with which the Celtic family of languages is burdened.

Thus R¹ R² follow the poem the most closely: but in one important point R² agrees with it as against the others. R¹ R³ give the travellers a journey of 12 days *on* the Caspian to the Cimmerian Sea, in addition to the previous 20 days on the Caspian. R² and the poem make 20 (or 12) days *from* the Caspian to the Cimmerian. Evidently the scholars of the R¹ tradition, followed blindly by R³, held by the ancient idea, perpetuated by Strabo, that the Caspian was an inlet of the northern ocean; those of R² (following the poem) were aware of its true nature as an inland lake, a fact known to Ptolemy⁴: recognising that a long *overland* trek would be necessary to pass from the one sea to the other. How and why they got back to Asia Minor in a single day it would be futile to enquire; and obviously the calendar data of the beginning and end of the voyage are entirely without meaning (but see below, p. 238).

As before, I leave the expression "Torrian Sea" untranslated: it may be the Mediterranean; or it may be the Tyrrhene Sea. Again, as before, it matters little which we choose!

¶ 170 (= R³ ¶ 193: same story in different words R² ¶ 177). The only details that call for notice in this ¶ are topographical.

Dūn na mBarc in Corco Duibne. No place of this name is otherwise recorded in Corco Duibne as usually defined (Corkaguiney, the northern promontory of Kerry): but the Corco Duibne originally extended beyond that barony, and the expression *Irrus Deiscirt Corco Duibne* "Southern Headland of C.D." suggests that the name of the territory formerly extended over Iveragh as well. This is confirmed by the association with the Skelligs, as was seen long ago by O'Curry;⁵ who therefore sought to establish Dūn na mBarc in Ballinskelligs Bay. The place-name does not appear to survive there: it is found near Bantry, which is too far to the South. Mr. H. Morris has argued very persuasively⁶ for fixing the site on the Sligo coast, north of the Rosses

⁴ See Tozer, *History of Ancient Geography* (index s.v. "Caspian"), for history of knowledge regarding this sea.

⁵ Battle of Magh Leana, p. 34-5, footnote.

⁶ *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxiii, 69 ff.

promontory; and he has shown that there is actually a complex of identifiable Cessair topography in that neighbourhood. But when shadowy figments like Cessair are involved, topographical traditions move about with the stories, and localize themselves in the neighbourhood of individual narrators; it would be very misleading to take the Find mac Cumhaill topography in Scotland as indicative of the locality of origin of the Find legend. None of the other references to Dūn na mBarc in Hogan's *Onomasticon* have any light to throw upon the topographical problem: they are all either one version or another of the Cessair story, or else (as in *The Courtship of Momera*, ed. O'Curry, p. 159) are obviously derived from it. As all the versions of the story agree in placing the site in Corco Duibne, it is a question whether we are justified in looking for it elsewhere than in Kerry: but it may also be questioned whether we are justified in looking for it anywhere in the material world. But see the further suggestions given above, in the introduction to this section.

Slūb Bētha is identified with "Slieve Beagh" at the junction of Counties Fermanagh, Tyrone, and Monaghan. A presumably bronze-age cairn, on the top of the mountain, is referred to by the Four Masters (A.M. 2242) as the grave of Bith. The cairn was still in existence in O'Donovan's time, though it has since been injured by quarrying. It may have had an influence in shaping the tradition.

Ard Ladraun we have already seen (¶ 167).

Fert Fintāin over Tul Tuinde. The latter name survives in Tountinna (Tipperary O.S. map 19) on the shore of Lough Derg. Fintāin's grave, however, does not appear to be now extant in the locality. Other traditions as to the topography of this personage are recorded in O'Donovan's notes to the *Four Masters* i, p. 5.

Cūl Chesra, identified by earlier writers with one or other of the cairns on Knockma, Co. Galway, has been identified more reasonably by Mr. Morris with a large mound overlooking the town of Boyle, called *Knockadoobrusna*. Here again, however, the topography of fairyland is hardly to be pinned down to telluric sites: the most that we can say is that the mythologies were localized by the story-tellers who narrated them, and that in some cases this artificial process

had a determining influence on local topographical nomenclature. A quatrain quoted by Mr. Morris in support of his thesis is an interpolation: see below, p. 246.

¶ 171. On the names of the women, see the notes on poem XXV, below, p. 246.

Second Reduction.

¶ 172. On this paragraph see the notes to ¶ 166. It comes from the original LG, but has been editorially harmonized with the tradition of LO, probably after that compilation had become part of the composite text.

¶ 173. See the notes to ¶ 168. It differs verbally from ¶ 168 to such an extent that it cannot come from the same source, though it narrates practically the same story. Note that the fishermen are named in a different order, evidently dictated by the appended poem. This authority, however, gives much fuller details about these personages, which the prose text in all its versions ignores.

¶ 174. This gives us (a) the title of the Cessair pericope, modified from the opening words of LO (as in R¹ ¶ 169, version of I); (b) the opening words of PA (R¹ ¶ 167, 169, first sentences of each, version of F); and (c) an interpolation from another source, naming Cessair's foster-parent. On this see the introduction to the present section. V's reading, *iar ndilinn* "after the Flood" is probably a mere mistake, but it might perhaps embody a different tradition as to the chronology of Cessair.

¶ 175-8. The PA story of Cessair's departure and voyage, but treated with great verbal freedom, although the influence of poem XXIII prevents serious modifications in the actual sequence of incidents. But the differences in detail are considerable: see the note on ¶ 169.

¶ 179. Here begins the document which in the introduction we have called C^b. It is parallel to C^a, the story which R² had from the first; and it has been inserted as a block of matter at an early stage of the history of this version, presumably because it added details not given by C^a.

Comparison between C^a and C^b indicates the following

differences:—(1) The foster Saball s. Manual is unknown: the reference to him must therefore be a late interpolation in C^a. (This does not negative the suggestion made above that Saball was from the beginning an intrinsic element in the tradition: in fact the most reasonable explanation for the interpolation is that the glossator considered him essential to the narrative, and thought that he ought to be mentioned. He knew who Saball was supposed to be: we do not.)

(2) The emphasis on the relationship of Cessair and her friends to Noah. It is interesting to see how this certainly artificial "fact" oscillates between emphasis and oblivion. In R¹ Noah suggests the voyage; in R² (C^a), beyond the bare mention of Noah in genealogical statements—which may here be interpolated—the patriarch does not appear at all. In C^b, however, the Noah connexion is brought into great prominence. The Flood is prophesied, and there is a laboured description of the rejection of the Cessair party's application for admission to the Ark. But Noah does not counsel their setting forth in an ark of their own: clearly he expects and desires them to drown.

(3) The subsequent council, and the adoption of an oracular "hand-god" (or baetyl), from whom the advice to take the journey comes. This is peculiar to C^b.

(4) The special mention of two women companions of Cessair, giving three chief women balancing the three men. This also is peculiar to C^b. One of these women is called Balba (= Banba), showing a reminiscence of the story in the *Quire of Druim Snechta*. The journey presumably followed the same lines in C^b as in C^a, as the redactor who took in C^b omitted it as superfluous.

(5) The party is driven to Ireland by a storm. This is apparently borrowed from the tale of the Spanish fishers. An important difference between C^a and C^b is that in the latter Cessair has only one ship (called an "ark"), whereas in the former she has three, two of which are lost with all hands at the landing.

(6) The emphasis laid on the division of the women is a special feature of C^b, and the subsequent events—the re-division after Ladra's death and the grotesque flight of Fintan—are peculiar to it. The latter looks like a popular "droll," which the scholastic compilers have condescended

to include, possibly for reasons already suggested (*ante*, p. 174).

The play of words in Noah's reply to Ladra (*nī long ladrand in long-sa*) will not escape notice.

A lām-dia was a portable object, possibly an elongated water-worn stone, more or less flattened, a rounded oval in shape, such as were found in a bronze-age burial-cairn on Carrowkeel mountain, and also in New Grange when it was opened in 1699.⁷ Such objects, like the fetish known as *Cermand Cestach* at Clogher, appear to have been used (as here) for oracular purposes, but the method of their use is not known. The limitation of knowledge ascribed to the idol is interesting: it appears that the writer felt constrained to accord *some* supernatural prescience to the object, but without any special enthusiasm.

Though the C^u account of the voyage is lost, there is a hint that it was identical with C⁸, differing from the R¹ R³ version in making the sojourn in Egypt *seven* instead of ten years. For they set forth $7\frac{1}{4}$ years (*secht mbliadna 7 rāithi*) before the Flood. The seven years are spent in Egypt (or sailing along the coast thereof): the *rāithi*, or quarter year, is distributed over the rest of the voyage. This (see the table, p. 233, above) contains $18 + 20 + 1 + 20 + 18 + 9 = 86$ days, which is exactly three lunar months of 28-29 days each, a strong argument for the originality of *this* distribution of the time; a conclusion further corroborated by the symmetry of the numbers. (The calculator has, however, forgotten the 40 days, said to have been spent in Ireland before the Flood.)

Miledach, *Bun Suainme*, and *Comar na ttri nūisce*, all denote the place of confluence of the Barrow, Nore, and Suir, and the territory around it. What mythological connexion there may be between the three rivers and the three heroes (or heroines) it is useless to try to guess: but such a place, liable at times to excess of waters, might very well be connected with a localized flood-legend. If Dūn na mBare was

⁷ See *Proceedings*, Royal Irish Academy, xxix, § C, p. 334; and the illustration accompanying Molyneux's description of New Grange in his *Discourse concerning the Danish mounts, forts, and towers in Ireland* (Dublin, 1725), p. 203.

on the western coast, this meeting of the waters would have been an inconvenient place for the colonists to assemble; and there must be some reason, now forgotten, for their association with this special place. (See *ante*, p. 172.)

§ 180. The writer is at the stage of cultural development which regards a name as an intrinsic and essential part of the thing named. "Bun Suainme" was at the time the name of a certain place, although by hypothesis there were no people in the country to bestow the name upon it. Compare the story of the stars in vol. i, § 27, which have their names even before the angels discover them.

§ 181. Ladra's dissatisfaction, at getting only 16 women whereas his associates got 17 each, appears here for the first time. Note that in *secht mnā dēcc maille fris*, we must assign to *maille* an inclusive meaning, not merely associative ("17 women, of whom she was one").

§ 183. Fintan's flight is conceived of as starting from the meeting of the three waters—the confluence of the Barrow and the Suir, for the Nore runs into the Barrow about 8 miles above that point—westward through the low-lying seaboard of Co. Waterford as far as Dungarvan Harbour, then, turning northward, crossing the Knockmealdown Mountains (*Slīab Cūa*) into Tipperary; then west by north, into Limerick as far as Kilfinnane (near which is *Cenn Febrat*); then turning northward, striking the Shannon somewhere between Limerick and Killaloe, and following it upstream, left-hand to the river, to the goal at *Tul Tuinde* (on which see notes to § 170 above).

§ 184 is most probably the sequel to § 172 in the original LG. It gives us the bare chronological details about the aborigines which are needful; and leads us back to the invasion of the Milesians, which was the special interest of that document. It adds one more item to the parallel that has already been drawn between the Milesian and the Hebrew history: for it makes the building of Solomon's Temple, which practically inaugurates the history of the Hebrew kings, contemporary with the inauguration of the Milesian kings.

Third Redaction.

¶186. The awkward *adfeadsam* is to be excised as an intrusive gloss upon *aisneidheam*. The other differences from the parallel texts have already been commented upon.

¶187. The Banba story, as we have already seen, was independent of Noah and the Flood. The discrepancy has puzzled the scribes of the R³ tradition; Banba and her friends were in the country 40 years, two centuries before the Flood, and, therefore, could have had nothing to do with it. They have accordingly made nonsense of the whole episode by interpolating some Biblical extracts about the Flood. The duration of the Flood, according to R³—40 years and 1 day, instead of 40 days and 1 year—is a mere scribal slip; but it does not improve matters.

The latter part of this ¶ (from *I cind 300 bliadan*) is the first fragment of the synchronistic tract isolated by Professor MacNeill.⁸

¶188. The Capa story, from *Q—with mere verbal and orthographical differences from the text of F. The gloss *acht chena ni hairmid* must have lost the word *Lebor* before *Gabalu* already in √F*Q.

¶190. Here begins R³'s copy of C⁸. It is taken over from R², but with numerous interpolations and variations. The most important of these are—

(1) A sentence making the Flood the penalty for Cain's murder of Abel.

(2), in M, a reference to the endogamy attributed to Noah's domestic *ménage*, otherwise known only from glosses in R² (¶11).

(3), in M, a gloss emphasising Fintan's fraternal relationship to Noah. In B he is Noah's nephew, as in R².

(4) The answer of Noah to Ladra has become corrupted. *Ni leam do comus* should be *Ni liom* [or, as in R², *nimtha*] *a chomas*. The *a* has become *do*; and we must now translate *comas* “control” [see Meyer, Contribb. s.v. *commus*]—“I have no control of thee, am not thy keeper.” In M, *Ni fillem do cumachtaib*, here provisionally translated, “We would not stoop to the Powers” [to petition for thy deliver-

⁸ *Proceedings R.I.A.*, xxviii, C, p. 123 ff.

ance] has apparently grown out of *Ni lium a cumas*, the *s* of the last word having been read as though *s* (= *acht*).

(5) Addition in M of a petition of Cessair on her own behalf, and an extension of Noah's punning remark about the “ship of thieves” to include the whole company, and not Ladra only.

¶192. The evolution of the sea Mara Hén and of the island Meroen is a good illustration of what was said above, p. 175, about the instability of proper names.

¶193. The lacuna in both MSS. of R³, in the passage describing the death of Ladra, is hardly to be attributed to a sense of prudishness such as induced the translator of the parallel text in the *Book of Fenagh* to render *atbath do fhurail banaich* by “he died of female persecution”! M here inserts a note about a son of Bith named Bath, which professes to explain a current saying. It shows that there were other elements in the Cessair saga of which our compilers made no use. The *well* of Dūn na mBare does not appear elsewhere.

The rest of the extract from C⁸ follows on to ¶196 with no point worthy of special notice.

¶197. On the names of the women, see the notes to poem XXV. The note at the end of the paragraph apparently expresses an annotator's scepticism regarding the other antediluvian colonists.

¶198. This is the first paragraph of one of several tracts in which Irish “history” is placed in a setting of world-chronology, based on the compilation of Eusebius, as it is preserved for us at second-hand in a Latin translation by Hieronymus, and also in an Armenian version⁹: the original Greek text survives in fragments only. The Irish version correctly reproduces the dates here, except that the reign of Semiramis is wrongly written *xlu.*; it should be *xlii*. For Zaineus, the alternative name of Ninias, we should read *Zames*, as we find it in the relevant fragment of the Greek, preserved by Syncellus, and also in the Armenian translation.

⁹ I use Scaliger's edition (Leyden, 1606) for the Hieronymian version, and Aueher's edition (Venice, 1818) of the Armenian translation.

Hieronymus has *Zameis*. The complete text of this Irish tract will be found in the *Book of Lecan* (facs. fo. 186 d 46 ff.): it is a different document from Professor MacNeill's chronicle, for which see note to ¶ 187 above.

VERSE TEXTS.

XXI.

Anonymous poem, put into the mouth of the antediluvian Fintan. Metre: very faulty, but reckoned as *crō cummaise etir rindaird ocus lethraannaigecht*. The formula is 6² + 5¹, the short lines rhyming: but the long lines sometimes end in monosyllables, as in quatrains 3, 12, or in trisyllables, as in 4, 6. In the first stanza, the scansion of line 695 is obscure: *cīa-fiar* must be treated as one syllable. Line 697 is short of a syllable, and is probably corrupt.

(2) 699. The false reading in R² is probably due to someone whose ear had been led astray by the imperfect line 697 preceding it, and who tried to bring this line into conformity with it.

(3) 703. Another imperfect line, lacking a syllable; and once again R² has modified line 705 to conform to it metrically, as well as to carry through the formula of the statement in the lines preceding and following [his mountain, (his height), her nook].

(4) 708. Though the name Druing appears several times in Irish toponymy, it is not otherwise recorded anywhere that could be described as being underneath Tul Tuinde. We must, therefore, treat the word as dative of *drong*.

(6) 715. This is the order of words in all the MSS., but for metrical reasons it should be emended to *Missi sund i nÉirind*, as in the following quatrain.

(8) 726. *Irrus thīar*, that is Irrus Domnann (Erris, Co. Mayo).

(10) 731. The prefixed *īarsin* in all the MSS. is impossible metrically: it has clearly crept in from the two preceding quatrains. Fintan's lack of sustenance until the arrival of the Tūatha Dē Danann has no parallel in the prose texts: otherwise the poem adds nothing to our knowledge of the episode.

XXII.

Metre *debide scāille*, with the loose construction of *ōglachas* in which the number of syllables in the rhyming words is not strictly regulated.

(2) 749. *dinn* must be translated *natural* stronghold here, if we are to make exigent claims on the poet's logic: for by hypothesis there had been no one to build artificial fortresses before the arrival of Capa and his friends.

(6) 766. Lī-indber is the mouth of the Bann. This couplet expresses compactly that, starting from that northern point, they explored all Ireland and so ultimately worked their way back again to Spain.

XXIII.

Metre *debide scāilte*, of superior construction to the preceding poem: The only points to notice about it are that it makes Meroe an archipelago of islands (782): calls the vessel of Cessair an ark (785): and recognises the existence of land between the Caspian and the Cimmerian seas, though it does not explain how Cessair navigated her vessel over it.

This poem and the next are probably parts of the same composition; and they appear as one in K. K¹ (i.e., the first quatrain of the poem in K) = XXIV¹; K² = XXIII¹; K³ = XXIV²; K⁴ is a remote variant of XXIII²; K⁵⁻⁷ = XXIII³⁻⁵; and the rest follows, corresponding with the remainder of XXIV (interpolating a quatrain before the last).

(1) 779. K follows R² in reading *cid dia*, and adds the needless gloss *cidh im a ttanaice si, no cia la tainicc?* 780. *Fo lī* K, as in R², glossed *ar a mbaoi deaghne*. 781. *Sēn* for *scēl* is probably the true reading, being in K as well as R²R³. K's gloss *lion luinge no lucht luungi, no bae sen garbh ar a ttangatar* seems to presuppose a word *sēn*, meaning "troop, company."

(2) 783. K's version of this quatrain is as follows—

Bai mar atberat baird:	fri toebh ceeh airir iomaird,
ocht tuathl deee i mbaire, nirb	es muineind mara mor-Caisp.
aisce:	

the first line glossed *mar aderit na heolaigh*, the third *nirb aithiseach no imdeargthach*; and *os muincind* glossed *os uachtar*. The last couplet is as in R².

(3) 788. K has a corrupt reading *ccuimm* for *trom*, glossed by guesswork *i ccuim no i fosgad Mara Cimerdha*. *Riacht* is a dissyllable, but some scribes have made it a monosyllable and inserted *in* to mend the metre. 790. K follows R² in reading *Siria*.

(4) 791. K's reading of this quatrain follows R².

(5) 797–8. K's reading is a modification of R²: *Satharn for coicced deco ghe* (i. glan no follus): *taniec d'ascnam* (i. tenuig si do eimniughadh) *eriche*.

XXIV.

Metre: *debide scāilte*.

(1) 799. *don tür tind*, glossed *don iarradh tinnenchaigh* K. K's readings in this poem follow those of R² as a rule. 801. *na cucht cain*: *fo cucht eain* K, glossed *fo ghne caoin no taithnemhaigh*. It is not quite clear whether the "cucht" is referable to Cessair or to Ériu. 802. *codal-glain*, glossed *croicenn-gloin* K.

(2) 803. Ass in the sense of "out of," "forth," which it frequently has after verbs. 804. Here again Meroe is treated as an archipelago.

(3) 808. K, reading *fri recht*, glosses *fri dlighedh no fri riocchain co rogarcc*. 809. *grinn* is the reading of R¹ R³, but the *granda* of R² gives better sense. K has *graindi*, and glosses *ro tiomsaigh nō ro tiomáin an gaoth iad i modh cruinn*, presumably meaning "in a roundabout way." 810. K fatuously glosses *ar imorchor* by *ar iomchar muiridhi no ar sechrán*: apparently analysing the word into *im-muirchor*.

(5) 815. *Ladra* is described meaninglessly as "sufficient" merely to provide a rhyme for *mōr*. The exigencies of verse have in any case driven the poet to take refuge here in *ōglachas*! And in line 817, wanting an adjective of disapproval to rhyme with *Ladrand*, he is compelled to fall back on the overworked and here scarcely appropriate *gand*. K expresses his bewilderment thereat by glossing this word

ba gniom goirt, no tinn, no tiachair. 817. K substitutes *do forail banaigh* for *do dul chuca*, a reading not found in any of the pre-K versions.

(6) 821. *fri sāiri seng* appears to mean "with slender nobility": K, thinking of *fōaim* in connexion with *taesat*, and joining *sāiri seng* to *mnāib* (both being governed by the same preposition), gives the wild gloss *as iat ceidfir do luigh no do righne feis, re mnāib saora seanga i nEriu o thūs*. *Taesat fri mnāib* "they came with women" hence, foregathered, consorted with women.

(7) 823. *benn* is glossed by K *rug Bioth ar a roinn do na mnaibh*, which suggests a misunderstanding of the epithet. 825. It is straining language to describe "Sieve Beagh" as being in the N.E. of Ireland, nor does it stand above any "stately sea" (Loch Erne is rather too far away). Assuming the correctness of the identification, the geographical indications here must be dictated by metrical exigencies. 826. *thiugradus* with a variety of spellings, is glossed i. *tanaic a dedhen-cheim* ("last step" with *gradus* in mind): "tiugh" *deidhenach*, 1 "rathus" *cion*, i. a cion *deidhenach basaigteach*. The latter part of the gloss seems to hit the nail: *rathus* is a legal term (= liability), see Atkinson, *Glossary to Ancient Laws*. The last liability is, of course, death.

(8) 828. *co lin ngretha*, glossed *co n-iomat ngaire i. ocea caoineadh*. This seems to be a correct rendering. *Lin* is masculine, but here causes nasalization of the following initial.

(9) 831. K has *allai*, glossed *ro elaid*, for *doluid*—a reading not found in the older MSS. 832. *fa sūan saim*, a cheville meaningless in this connexion, but presumably a sort of quasi-etymological anticipation of *Bun Suainme* in the following line. 833. *re snīm slat*. *Snīm* means (1) trouble, (2) spinning, wrenching, creaking; *slat* means a rod, branch, reed, or the like. The expression may be either descriptive of the site, as a place "of creaking of branches" or else a suggestion of the way in which Fintan crossed the waters of *Bun Suainme* "with [a raft of] weaving of rods." Such an operation would be familiar in Ireland: rods were woven to form the wattle structure of the walls of huts, and also to

provide the footings of crannog-structures. K, who glosses the passage *re sniomh do dul ina fearrdha*, seems to have understood it in a grotesque sense best forgotten.

(10) 835. Here *iar* is used in the less usual spatial sense "behind." *Airthir* means "front part"; as applied to mountains, the brow, breast, or bluff. *Nuall*, usually "outcry, noise," is here glossed *radh* in K.

(11) 841. *iar fes* is understood by K to mean "dwelling, or adultery, or feasting." 842. *na hēcmais* may mean "in her absence" or "absent from her." There is no reason to prefer either rendering to the other.

(12) 843. *Achar* is glossed by K *do rinni si ēccaoini no ēigem gēr no linn no luinn no tren*.

(12A). The following quatrain, not found in any ancient MS., is here interpolated by K—

Athnaicset na mna ar dile: scithnach soer na hinghine;
Isin carn os Büill messaigh: cor lil a hainm o Aird-Ceassair.

glossing *athnaicset* by *adhnaicset*, *scithnach*, etc., by *corp onorach na hinghine*, *no corp uasal*, and *massaigh* by *iasccach no bradanach*.

847. K, following the reading of R², glosses *fechta* by *turusa*.

(13) 848. The plural *aideda* (*oidedha*) appears in K, but not in any other of the older MSS. But perhaps the *a* was lost early before the possessive pronoun following.

XXV.

Metre, a loose form of *Sētrad mōr*, in which the internal rhyme is neglected. As in XXI, the "poet" speaks in the name of Fintan.

The composition is a list of names, compiled for mnemonic purposes. The frequent alliterations and assonances (Sell-Della, Fodarg-Rodarg) show that the list in its present form is artificial; and the numerous variants prove that it is very corrupt. Moreover, some of the words seem to have been adapted from sentences which were embedded in some previous form of the list (e.g., *Duib Addeos* in the "Bith" group, which K quite naturally glosses *inneosat*, but which

must be treated as two names, because otherwise it would be impossible to fill up the number of seventeen). Compare *Asdia Cuimniu Gudsain* in some versions of the list of languages, *ante*, p. 150. *Rodary Rinne Iachor Ain Irrand Espa* looks like another such sentence: with a little adjustment it could be made to mean "Rodarg who made a noble boundary in a part of Spa[in]." Further, the numbers of 17 + 17 + 16 have been made up by repetitions. *Tamall*, *Tam* in the "Fintan" group corresponds to *Tamall*, *Tanna* (which is so printed here, after L, but in other versions appears as *Tamall*, *Tama*) in the "Bith" group; *Rodarg* appears both in the "Bith" and in the "Ladra" group; and *Aba* at the head of the *Ladra* group (which certainly ought to be *Balba* or *Banba*) corresponds to *Aba* or *Abla* in the *Fintan* group.

This being so, and no earlier form of the list being available, it would be futile to endeavour to conjecture—for we could do little more—the shape in which it was first drawn up. But in its original form it was probably as old as the rest of the story, and was an essential part of it. For, as has already been hinted in the Introduction, we must assume that originally Cessair and her companions survived the Flood and re-peopled the earth. The extension of the Flood to Ireland, and its drowning of the company, is artificial, to bring the story into accordance with the postulated teaching of Holy Writ. The fifty women were undoubtedly meant to be the mothers of the post-diluvian human communities: one line in the "Ladra" list shows this quite clearly—

"Gothiam, German, Aithne, Inde,"

where it is easy to see names eponymous of Gothia, Germania, Athenae, and India. Elsewhere we have Cipir (= Cyprus), Torrian (= Tyrrhenia), Traige (= Thracia), and possibly some others which corruption has rendered less obvious. And it may be further suggested that the partition among the three men is late and artificial.⁹ The original story knew

⁹ But it shows a parallelism, which may mean anything or nothing, with the distribution of the post-diluvian nations among the three sons of Noah.

of only one man (Adna "the ancient," afterwards Ladra) with one wife, daughter of Bith ("cosmos"), and a number (not necessarily fifty) of subordinate women. Adna being son of Bith, he is consequently brother of Cessair (a relationship attributed to Ladra by an interpolator in ¶ 196). We seem here to be on the track of a myth of a divine brother-sister union, comparable with the connexion of Zeus and Hera, or with those of the cosmogonic ennead in Egyptian mythology. The married pair in time became a triad, for certainly Cessair = Bairflind = Banba [= Fotla = Ériu]. After the Flood the man united with all the women—there is possibly a hint of this in Ladra's "excess of women," although in the end he actually had the smallest number—and became the progenitor of the peoples of the world. Further than this we cannot go, but there is a considerable potential interest in the list, as an early compendium of geographical knowledge; though its manifold corruptions have deprived it of most of its kinetic value.

XXVI.

Metre: *Debide scāilte*. This quatrain also appears in Keating (I. v. 1) with slight verbal differences, the most important of which is the substitution of *Nionuail* for *Manuail*.

XXVII.

This quatrain in the form here given is metrically corrupt, but is meant to be *debide scāilte*. A better version is given in M in the Partholón section (poem no. XXXVI).

XXVIII.

Metre: *debide scāilte*. Carn Cessra is sometimes used, as more or less synonymous, for Cūl Cessrach, see Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Carn Cesra. Carn is such a common place-name in Ireland that it gives no real help in the discussion of the topography of the story. The quatrain also in Keating, I. v. 3.

XXIX.

Metre: *debide scāilte*.

LIBER PRAECURSORUM.

The section now before the reader is the second of the two originally independent narratives which (as we have seen in the Introduction) break into the middle of the history of the Milesian Invasion. In the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius this document is thus summarized: I translate from the Harleian text, as printed by Faral:¹

"Now first came *Partholomus* with 1000 persons, both men and women, and they increased till they were 4000: and an epidemic came upon them, and in one week they all died, and not even one remained of them.

"Secondly *Nimeth*, a certain son of Agnomen, came to Ireland, who is said to have sailed for a year and a half upon the sea: afterwards he took harbour in Ireland, having suffered shipwreck, and he remained there for many years: and once more he put to sea with his followers and returned to Spain.

"Afterwards there came three sons of a Spanish soldier (*militis Hispaniae*) having thirty ships and thirty wedded couples in each ship, and they remained there for a space of one year. Afterwards they behold a tower of glass in mid-sea, and they were beholding men on the tower, and were seeking to speak with them, but these would never answer: so in one year they set out to assault the tower with all their ships and with all their women, except for one ship which suffered wreck, and in which were thirty men and as many women. The other ships sailed to capture the tower: and when they had all alighted upon the shore which surrounded the tower, the sea came upon them and they were drowned; not one of them escaped. Of the crew of the ship which was abandoned by reason of the wreck, all Ireland was filled unto this day. Afterwards people came, little by little, from regions of Spain, and occupied many territories.

¹ *La légende arthurienne*, iii, p. 11.

"Last of all came Damhoctor (into Britain) [and dwelt there until this day with his whole progeny]. Istoreth son of Istornus with his followers held Dalrieta; Buile and his followers held *Eubonia Insula* [Isle of Man] and other islands around; while the sons of Liethan found possession in the region of the Demeti and in other regions, that is Guir Cetgueli, till they were driven by Cunedda and by his sons from out of all the regions of Britain."

Nennius then proceeds to narrate a much perverted version of the adventures of Nel and his successors in Egypt, nearly, though not quite, as corrupt as that prefixed by Fordun to the *Scotichronicon*. With this we need not trouble ourselves. The foregoing extract shows that *Liber Praecursorum*, by the time of Nennius, was taking shape much as we have it; though Nennius evidently quotes some of it from memory, and has confused certain of the details. Partholon and Nemed are clear, and the departure of the Nemedians from Ireland is also clear. The next invasion of Nennius obviously shows confusion with that of the Milesians (*militis Hispaniac* = Mil of Spain); it must, however, correspond to the FirBolg. The incident of the Tower of Glass is a mixture of the two doublet stories, of the Tower of Gold and the Tower of Conaing, which appear in the Nemed section.

The text relating to "Damhoctor" reads as follows:—*Nouissime uenit Damhoctor et ibi habitauit cum omni genere suo usque hodie in Brittaniam*. The first three words form the only genuine part of this sentence. Some one added *in Brittaniam* (it should have been *in Hiberniam*): and then another scribe interlined *et ibi . . . hodie*, which has now broken most awkwardly into the text. The tale of dispersion with which this paragraph closes can be no more than a bad memory of the story of the scattering of the FirBolg into various islands.

"Damhoctor," *damh ochtar*, which Nennius has taken for a personal name, means "a troop of eight persons." We cannot determine which of the series of Invasions is intended; for it is suggestive that this numerical grouping persists throughout them all. The expression is applied to the people of Partholon in the *Dindsenchus* poem on Inber in Buada

(*Gwynn*, M.D., iii, 418). In ¶ 248 we find *Nemed-ochtair*; and other examples will meet us from time to time. Remembering that these tales are theological rather than historical, we seem here to be on the track of a primary group of eight deities, comparable with the central ennead of Egypt or the *di consentes* of Rome.

The story of the Precursors was in a more fluid condition than the alleged history of the Milesians. This is a natural result—and incidentally a demonstration—of the varied origin of the two documents. We have seen, in the Introduction to vol. I, that the story of the Milesians is from the first an artificial product, primarily the work of an individual writer, and anchored to the Israelite history upon which it is founded. The story of the Precursors is more of the nature of genuine folklore, no doubt artificially worked over, but still preserving some germs of a real, though unhistorical, tradition. Fortunately it never received a final literary form: the two recensions, R¹ and R², are almost as different as they well can be, within the necessary limitations imposed by telling the same story. They are here far more diverse than in the "Milesian" portion of LG, or even in the section which deals with the Antediluvians. This divergence, it is unnecessary to point out, makes them all the more valuable.

As will be more clearly shown in the analyses prefixed to the successive sections, *Liber Praecursorum* is capable of further analysis, with at least two component and parallel constituents. The Partholon-Nemed tales form a single group, corresponding to the FirBolg-Tuatha De Danann tales; the pairs are doublets of one another, although redactional interference has obscured their mutual relations.

The Partholon and Nemed sections seem to have been absent from *Q. It is possible that it never contained them: but on the whole it is most likely that the neglect of *Q by ∞ R³ in these sections is due to a further mutilation of that fundamental manuscript, which compelled him to rely exclusively on R² in this part of his work. The loss of the first folio of *Q would leave its conjunctive loose, and under a grave risk of being lost also: it is more than probable that this further calamity actually occurred before ∞ R³ began his operations. Calculation, based on the data collected in

Vol. I, pp. 10-13, suggests that in a gathering of three diplomas (six leaves) at the beginning of *Q the matter would be so distributed that a large part of the end of Partholon and the beginning of Nemed would have been contained on the sixth folio, which would be the conjunctive of the lost opening leaf. This gives a further hint towards the reconstruction of *Q.

The "lowest common measure" of the two parallel stories will to some extent put us in possession of the genuine folklore underlying the artificial form in which the documents have, unfortunately, been delivered to us. It must be understood quite clearly that there is not a single element of genuine historical detail, in the strict sense of the word, anywhere in the whole compilation. After many efforts, I find myself forced to the conclusion that it is altogether chimerical to attempt to draw any correlation between the successive waves of historical immigration, to which Archaeology and Ethnology introduce us, and the wild tales contained in this book. These latter are partly mythological, partly ritual in their origin; and it should be obvious that this gives them an enormous value, which they would not possess if they were merely dull narratives of pointless slaughter and silliness such as, on the surface, they appear to be.

SECTION IV.

PARTHOLON.

Introduction.

The origin of this, the first section of *Liber Praecursorum*, has been a matter of frequent discussion on account of the remarkable name borne by the leader of the expedition. The initial P shows that the name is not Goidelic; some critics have sought an aboriginal, pre-Goidelic origin for the name and for the associated legends, while others favour a late (Christian) origin. The name is actually used in Irish Christian literature to represent the ecclesiastical *Bartholomeus*: and whether this is an original equivalent or a mere adaptation of an existing vocable is the question which is the essential kernel of the dispute.

The articles of Van Hamel (*Revue Celtique*, I, 217) and Thurneysen (Z.C.P., xx, 375) summarize all the available literature possessing any value; and although in details of interpretation they take opposite views, these articles collectively produce the impression that what we have is a drastically artificial elaboration, by scholastic pedants, of primary folk-traditions.

At the end of all the discussion, however, the name of Partholon still remains unexplained; unsuccesful efforts by Hieronymus and Isidore to find the etymology of the name of the apostle Bartholomew have in one way or another influenced the treatment of the saga in the hands of the native historians. By this route, perhaps, if we adopt a suggestion of Thurneysen, the hero has become "son of Sera" (= "the Syrian")² and is thus linked to the Milesian pedigree.

² But see *ante*, p. 129.

Thurneysen considers the *Dindsenchus* element to be so prominent in this narrative as to be primary: the various personages after whom lakes and mountains are named having been invented to explain those names, and not *vice versa*. Undoubtedly this aspect of the subject is of great importance, and must not be lost sight of; in any case, actual narrative, in this story, is evidently reduced to its lowest terms. But as we shall presently see, there are other elements in the complex which have an equal claim to consideration. Besides the *Dindsenchus* material, Eusebius has supplied the synchronistic chronology, and Orosius the "Inber Scene" with which he has pestered Irish historical tradition. These are enough to show that we must make allowances for pseudo-learned artificial manipulation.

We shall be in a better position to consider the significance of this narrative after we have analysed its details.

First Redaction.

Partholon's parentage, date of arrival, synchronism with Abraham (¶ 199). He comes with three sons, Laiglinne, Slanga, Rudraige, who are eponymous of certain geographical features (¶ 200), as is also an unexplained Fea, one of his company, the first to die in the country (¶ 201). The settlers are attacked by mysterious beings called Fomoraig, who are defeated (¶ 202). Seven lakes burst forth (¶ 203) and four plains are cleared (¶ 204); and then Partholon and his following, who have by now amounted to 9,000 persons, all die of a plague. His nephew Tuan is the only survivor; it has been found necessary to invent him in order to explain the preservation of a story about an annihilated community (¶ 205). Here, probably, ∞R^1 ended; but a paragraph has been added giving a totally different account of Partholon's family (¶ 206), and another, in which Partholon appears as a "culture-hero," the originator, in Ireland, of certain details of civilization (¶ 207).

Second and Third Redactions.

In this and the following section these two redactions can be taken together. R^3 is here an interpolated R^2 text, doubtless because, as we have seen, *Q failed ∞R^3 , being mutilated at this place. In this section:—

¶ 208 corresponds to ¶ 199 in R^1 , but is greatly expanded, and in detail has nothing in common with it except some verbal coincidences, possibly accidental.

¶ 209: a similarly expanded account of Partholon's genealogy, his origin in Sicily (changed to "Micil" by a confusion of Σ and Μ in some Greek geographical glossary),² and the details of the voyage to Ireland.

¶ 210 corresponds to ¶ 200 in R^1 , but is again verbally independent of it; the names of the wives are added; some additional names are interpolated in R^3 .

¶ 211 explains Partholon's exile as due to an act of parrieide, and the final plague as a penalty for that crime. This paragraph reads like the end of an independent narrative: its material is quite foreign to R^1 .

¶ 212 (R^2 only) corresponds to ¶ 207 (R^1), but is quite independent of it both in matter and in manner. The same may be said of ¶ 213 (here also in R^2 only) which in a like unconformable manner corresponds to R^1 , ¶ 202.

¶ 214 enumerates the four plains of ¶ 204 (R^1) but in a different order, and with extensive orthographical variations in the names.

¶ 215 tells of Fea (R^1 ¶ 201) again with extensive

² A synchronistic tract in the *Book of Lecan*, which is quoted at ¶ 230 (on which see the notes), tells us that Partholon—as well as all the subsequent invaders of Ireland—came from "Sociniania" in "Scythia Clochaid" (Seythia Petraea).

additions, and with no more than accidental verbal coincidences.

¶ 216 has a little more in common with R¹ than its doublet ¶ 213, but is still independent of it. ¶ 217-8 form a sequel to it found only in R³ (¶ 217 in M only). ¶ 218 is the same as ¶ 213 in R².

¶ 219 enumerates the lake-bursts of R¹ ¶ 203, again in a different order and with greatly expanded details.

¶ 220 gives the death of Partholon (¶ 205 R¹) but again with a complete difference of matter and of manner. The story is repeated in ¶ 221—the third repetition of the narrative in this composite recension!

¶ 222 tells the full story of Tuan (of whom we had only a bare mention in R¹ [¶ 205], which may possibly be an interpolation).

¶ 223 is identical with ¶ 206: both versions have borrowed this irrelevance from some common source.

¶ 224-5, an interpolation in R³, with an additional short paragraph (226) in B, greatly expanding the previous lists of Partholon's companions. M then adds the story of Partholon and Delgnat, told in K but not elsewhere in any ancient version of the text; and gives one more version of the Tuan story. The text ends with the first long instalment of the ancient synchronistic chronicle, to which Professor MacNeill first called attention.⁴

From the above analysis it is clear that R¹ and R²R³ follow entirely different versions of the tale: even in the order of the paragraphs the two texts have little in common. It is also clear that the tale was extant in other forms as well, some of which were laid under contribution, especially by the school of R³: with the effect of giving that version a formlessness reminiscent of primaevol Chaos! The foregoing facts may be summarized thus in tabular form:—

⁴ *Proceedings, Royal Irish Academy, xxviii, C, p. 123.*

<i>Incidents</i>	<i>R¹</i>	<i>R²R³</i>
P.'s parentage, date of arrival, synchronism with Abraham, companions	199	208-9, 224-6
P.'s three sons	200	210
P.'s paricide	—	211
Fea	201	215
Fomoraig	202	218 (R ²) 216-8
Lakes	203	219
Plains	204	214
Plague	205	211, 220-1
Tuan	205	222, 236 (M)
P. = Mil	206	223
P. = Culture Hero	207	212 (R ²)
Delgnat	—	232-5 (M)
Synchronism	—	227-31

Throughout R² R³ give much fuller details than R¹.

Reviewing these, the first point we notice is that the Cessair and Partholon stories must have developed independently of one another, and that the Cessair tale cannot have been originally a part of *Liber Praecursorum*. If it had been, Cessair's Fintan would have been available to carry on the record, and the invention of a second immortal, Tuan, would have been superfluous.⁵ In connexion with such stories as this of Tuan, it may be worth while recalling the legends of the exploits of certain Indian fakirs. In Stoll, *Suggestion und Hypnotismus*, p. 76 ff., we read of such a person who simulated death and was buried for forty days, after which he revived: and at pp. 82-3 there is a tale of another, found buried and resurrected in the same way, "who told many tales out of the ancient life."

In the second place, the Partholon story is not independent of the tale of the FirBolg. Two of Partholon's sons, Rudraige

⁵ In ¶ 236 there is a suggestion of an identification of these two personages, but this must be due to a harmonistic redactor. The identification is also adumbrated in ¶ 205, where a (probably interpolated) sentence makes Tuan narrate, at the end of his career, the invasions, including that of Cessair. Nennius apparently had no knowledge of Tuan, or disbelieved in him.

and Slanga, reappear as leaders of the FirBolg. On the other hand, the duality Gann and Sengann, who appear in the Nemed story as Fomorian enemies, along with a third member of the group, Genann, are associated with Rudraige and Slanga as FirBolg leaders. As we shall see later, the line between the FirBolg and the Fomorians is not clearly drawn. The former are the children of Dela son of Lot: More mae Deled (the difference of declension must be acknowledged, but it does not necessarily present an insuperable difficulty in the way of an ultimate identification) fights with the Fomorians against the Nemedians, and the name of Lot is prominent among the Fomorian opponents of Partholon.

The character of the Fomorian invasion is the crucial problem in estimating the nature of the Partholonian episode. Who were these beings, and what is the meaning of their hostility to the successive occupations of Ireland (with the significant exception of the FirBolg)?

First as to their origin: of this there are two versions current.

(a) They were indigenous; apparently local beings, demoniacal or quasi-human, who resented the arrival of foreigners (¶ 202 = ¶ 216).

(b) They were of foreign origin; they came from a land so far (¶ 213) that their voyage to Ireland lasted 200 years, during which they had nothing to eat but sea-produce (birds and fish).

Their place of origin is called *Sliab Emor* (*Amor* in *DindSenehus*, *Ughmōir* corruptly in Keating). This cannot be anywhere within Ireland: there is nothing to commend the suggestion (in Hogan's *Onomasticon*) that it was somewhere near Loeh Da Caech, based on a *DindSenehus* poem (MD, iii, 184) which the editor of the *Onomasticon* has misunderstood. The whole point of the story there told (which is unknown to the LG canon) is that the invaders came, to the lake named, from somewhere else. (In another respect the poem is at variance with the LG tradition, in that it makes the invaders attack the Milesians, not the Partholonians). If it be necessary to seek any terrestrial identification for *Sliab Emor* (as it is envisaged by the Christian historians who have systematized these tales) we

might perhaps suggest Mount Hermon; the association of that mountain, in apocryphal literature, with the Biblical Antediluvians and with the fallen angels, might indicate it as a suitable place from which to derive the uncanny Fomorians.

According as these people are or are not indigenous, their arrival is not or is spoken of as an "invasion." This is specially the case in ¶ 213, 218, where it is called *Sechtgabāil* "seven-taking." We are not to understand "Seventh Taking," in spite of the interpolation ¶ 218 in R³:⁶ in fact the Fomorian invasion cannot by any method of calculation be numbered as the seventh, unless we are to suppose that it was originally an invasion *after the Milesians*, and that it was transferred subsequently to the place where we now have it. In numerical order it would be the third taking, or, if the shadowy Antediluvian tales are all counted in, the sixth.⁷ It may possibly be that the Scandinavian raids have coloured the traditions, and that this has led to an uncertainty as to the exact chronological sequence of the story. But beyond doubt we are not occupied *primarily* with a contest between human combatants, although the historians have laboured to tie the event down in time and in place. The date of the battle is (a) in the third year of Partholon's occupation (¶ 202, 216) or (b) unspecified (¶ 213). Keating has misunderstood the story, and has supposed that the Fomorians arrived 200 years before Partholon, the diet of fish and fowl being consumed in Ireland.

The invaders are described as having single arms and single legs (¶ 206, 216) to which R² in ¶ 216 adds single eyes. These deformities do not appear in ¶ 213, 217, but that may be because they had already been specified, and did not need to be repeated.

This is enough to show that we have to do with non-human personages. Supernatural beings are often imagined as being

⁶Or of the enumeration of seven conquests made in ¶ 166, by counting the three sub-divisions of the FirBolg separately.

⁷Nor can the expression mean "an invasion by seven persons" as that conception would not be expressed in any such way, and even if it were, such an interpretation would not greatly help us. We must be content with admitting that we do not know what *secht-gabāil* means.

in some way defective:⁹ the demonic Ghormuhas, who enter into the folklore of the aboriginal Santals of Chhota Nagpur, have a close analogy to the Fomoraig.¹⁰ Persons casting spells are sometimes represented as putting themselves, so far as possible, into the same state—standing on one foot, gesticulating with one hand, closing one eye, and speaking a formula in one breath¹¹ (for examples see R.C., xii, 98, xxi, 156, xxii, 581; also the note, ib. xxi, p. 395: see also O'Davoren's *Glossary*, ed. Stokes in *Archiv für Celt. Lex.*, ii, s.v., *corrguinecht*, and references there.)

Their leader is said to be one Cieul (the name is variously spelt), on whose parentage our authorities disagree profoundly, and to whose name an adjective is appended which denotes some peculiarity in his leg or his gait. He has a mother called Lot the Active.

These names reappear suggestively elsewhere. As we have seen above, Lot, turned masculine, is the father of Dela, who is father of the FirBolg leaders. Cieul, turned feminine, appears in the story of Da Derga's Hostel as the wife of a certain Fer Caille. Van Hamel and Thurneysen have both called attention to this fact.

⁹ See for example J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 15. Compare also the magical pig without ears or tail in the story of Diarmait and Gráinne (Preservation Society's edition, part ii, p. 42)—a story which, though extant only in a modern form, possesses many archaic features.

¹⁰ C. H. Burgess, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (London, 1909), p. 132. In the journal called *Discovery*, vol. xvi (1936), p. 185, there is an interesting paper by Capt. Wm. Hichens, entitled "Demon dances in E. Africa." The inhabitants of the neighbourhood of Mombasa and Zanzibar live in a life-long terror of many kinds of demons, and a hysterical "possession" by these beings is a frequent phenomenon. Among these demons there is a group of one-armed, one-legged and one-eyed spirits called *milhoti*, who are "of stealthy habits and great malevolence." The whole article, which includes details of the dances by which these evil influences are counteracted, is of extreme interest and suggestiveness: I must express by acknowledgments to Dr. F. H. Maberley for bringing it to my notice.

¹¹ The games of children sometimes reproduce the serious pursuits of their elders of former generations, so it may be just worth while to remark in passing that I have seen, in Donegal, children amusing themselves by challenging one of their companions to repeat a rhyme or a jingle a certain number of times without drawing breath.

Fer Caille is there described in these terms:¹¹ a man with black cropped hair such that if a sack of crab-apples were poured on his head, they would all become transfixated thereon, so that not one would fall to the ground: with a single arm, a single eye, a single leg. If his snout were hooked across the branch of a tree it would stay there. Each of his shins [the author has for the moment forgotten that he had only one!] was as long and as thick as a yoke, his buttocks as big as a cheese. He had an iron forked pole in his hand, and a black-bristled singed pig on his back, perpetually squealing. His wife Ciehul (as the name is there spelt) was not any more prepossessing: she had a big mouth, and was great, black, doleful, and ugly; her snout also would hang on a branch, and she had an under-lip which hung down to her knee. These people meet king Conaire when on his way to the Hostel of Da Derga, and, fatally in opposition to a *tabu* laid on the king, they subsequently occupy an *imda* or cubicle in the Hostel, where they are seen and are once more described by the spy of the raiders as they come to attack the building.

With the description of Ciehul we may compare the details reported in Poem no. XXXIII, quatrain 3, of Lot, who, as we learn there, had "blubber lips in her breasts, and four eyes in her back."¹² The actual wording of this unpleasant description is borrowed from another source, as is shown in the notes on the passage: but the borrowing would hardly have taken place if it had not appeared to be appropriate. It is suggestive that "Lot, Luam" occurs in the enumeration of Cessair's women; see ¶ 197 ante. Just as the single foot, hand, and eye help to identify Fer Caille with the Fomorian leaders, these details in the bisexual Lot help us to identify this being with the bisexual Cieul.

I have no scientific knowledge of Teratology, so can only hope that I am right in supposing that these horrible monstrosities transcend the limits of physical possibility, and that as descriptions of human beings they are preposterous, not to say abominable. But a very slight experience of ethnological museums is enough to show that they would be nothing out of the way among the idols which Oceania, Egypt, India, and other centres contribute to such collections; and I take it that these descriptions are, in fact, actual records

¹¹ R.C., xxii, p. 41.

of certain grotesque carved idols. With this clue in hand we obtain immediately a new light on the Hostelry of Da Derga. It was essentially no hostelry; indeed no one in his senses would at any time of the world's history have established a hostelry with a river flowing *through* it, especially a river so liable to spates as the Dodder. But such a place is not at all improbable for the establishment of a worship-centre; we may compare *Tech Mairisen* at Tara, situated above the spring called Nemnael, and undoubtedly a sacred building of some kind. Such a building, on an elaborate scale, I take the House of Da Derga to have been. It was a sort of pantheon: its numerous "cubicles" were shrines, each with its idol; and the quaint creatures seen and described by the spy in the service of the raiders were the images which the shrines contained.

We may compare the *patriae portenta ipsa diabolica, pene numero uincentia Aegyptiaca, lineamentis deformibus uel toruis uultibus* which were still mouldering in British or Romano-British pagan sanctuaries when Gildas wrote his *Liber Querulus*. Indeed, if the interminable description of Da Derga's Hostel and of its contents, which this narrative contains, is not to be interpreted in some such way, it becomes a mere dreary piece of silliness such as might be written by a rather foolish schoolboy with a still raw and uncultured sense of humour. So interpreted, on the other hand, it immediately assumes an importance for the history of European culture second only to that possessed by the painted "chambers of imagery" in the Palaeolithic caves.

No doubt the description has been written in an unsympathetic spirit. The inmates of the shrines, who are represented as spending their time in a variety of unmeaning tricks of jugglery and the like, are made absurd with evident intention. The author of the Da Derga story, in the form in which we have it, had no sympathy with the gods of his Pagan ancestors, and deliberately set himself to ridicule them. This to some extent detracts from the anthropological value of his record, while investing it with a certain historical value; but at least we can say for him what cannot be said for his colleague who, from the same standpoint, re-wrote the story of *The Second Battle of Moytura*; that he does not seriously transgress the limits of good taste. The latter

person mocked *In Dagda*, "the good god" of former times, with a ribaldry which an editor, not usually troubled with unscientific squeamishness, decided to be unprintable.¹²

It is quite reasonable to maintain that the person, or rather the object, which bore the name *Fer Caille*, "man of the wood," was a famous fetish, originally discovered in some wood or sacred grove; a chance freak of tree-growth, which, in the eyes of its discoverer, resembled a misshapen man, and which was on that account appropriated and deposited in the shrine, as possessing "big medicine."¹³

What then is the meaning of the contention of Partholon with these supernatural beings?

There seems to be very little room for doubt that the story is essentially a "ritual-pattern" narrative, analogous to those which recent research has identified in the ancient legends of Egyptian, Babylonian, Minoan, and other oriental centres, and which there is good reason to believe were universal. The primary needs of mankind are food and the continuation of the race: and endless experiments are tried, to make certain by magical means that Nature will not fail in her efforts to secure fertility in the fields, the stalls, and the human species. These vary in detail, but they conform to one general formula, which has been stated by Professor Hooke¹⁴ in the following terms:—

- (a) The dramatic representation of the death and resurrection of the god.
- (b) The recitation or symbolic representation of the myth of creation.
- (c) The ritual combat, in which the triumph of the god over his enemies was depicted.
- (d) The sacred marriage.
- (e) The triumphal procession, in which the king played the part of the god, followed by a train of lesser gods or visiting deities.

¹² *Revue Celtique*, xii, p. 86.

¹³ For suggestions as to the possibility of natural features in trees provoking cults of the kind, see L. Siret, "La dame de l'érable" (*L'Anthropologie*, xxx, p. 235). It is not irrelevant to recall the tree-stumps worked into grotesque god-figures which, as Lucan tells us, were to be seen in the sacred grove of Massilia (*Pharsalia*, iii, 412).

¹⁴ S. H. Hooke, *Myth and Ritual* (Oxford, 1933). See also Lord Raglan, *The Hero* (London, 1936).

This ritual is performed afresh each year, and so becomes familiar. It gradually crystallizes into a story, and the story becomes stereotyped by the perpetual repetition of the ritual and is fixed immovably in the popular memory. The essential fact which the ritual is meant to show forth is this: the god of the life-giving vegetation, incarnate in the king, dies with the winter, and is reborn in the springtime. It is impossible to trace out here all the evidence that extant Celtic literature supplies for the existence of such a ritual-pattern among the people to which that literature belongs: the rites at the inauguration of the King of Tara follow the oriental pattern with striking closeness. We must here confine ourselves to the Partholon story; and we shall have little difficulty in seeing that its apparent pointlessness vanishes, when we realize that in it, also, is the narrative of a fertility-ritual drama. It has suffered extreme deformation by arbitrary editorial manipulation; but most, if not all, of the component elements are still clearly recognizable.¹⁵

At this point it will be appropriate to cite a brief text, contained in a fragment bound into the MS. H. 4 22 (p. 37, col. 2) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (there is another, slightly variant, copy in the same library, in H. 3. 18, part I, p. 46):—

Mad ail a fis cid ara tainic Parrtalon as a tir féin, ní. Parrtalon do marb [a] athair γ a mathair i. Sru mae Praimint meic Athahta meic Mághoice meic Iafet, ac iarraig righi da derbrathair i. Beesomus a ainm-side; γ fa sine é na Parrtalon. Ro indarb Srú Parrtalon γ gur loit he, cur ben a suil cle as γ eo roibe .u.ii. mbliadna for indarbad. Co tanic isin Bigin Gree, lucht luinge, cur loise teeh for a athair γ for a mathair, gur loisg iat a ndis, γ do rat rigi da brathair. Oeus tanic fein eo Heirinn ar teichim na finghaile sin. Oeus is inand Sera isin berla Greeda "fingalach" isin berla teibide. Is aire

¹⁵ The second element in the pattern—the creation-narrative—is not emphasized in the story as we have it. But it is there. A gloss in ¶ 247 traces the descent of the Nemedians from "Agla son of Partholon." This person can hardly be other than the "Adna son of Bith" of whom we have already heard (§ III). Partholon, therefore = Bith, Cosmos, and takes his rightful place as a creator.

aderar Parrtalon mae Sera fris. Oeus for indarbad rucadh dis do clann Parrtaloin i. Rudraige γ Slainghe, conid aire sin tainic tainlecht forra ina fingail. Ba he tinnic [leg. truime] in tainlechta: in cruth ina mbid gach fer dib ina suide no na sesam no na luige a ee, γrl.

"Wouldst thou know wherefore Partholon came out of his own land, 'tis easy. Partholon slew his father and his mother, namely Sru s. Prament s. Athaeh t s. Magog s. Iafeth, seeking kingship for his brother, whose name was Beesomus, and he was his senior. Sru drove out Partholon and wounded him, and cut his left eye out from him: and he was seven years in exile. Then he came into Bigin (?) of the Greeks¹⁶ [with] a ship's crew, and burnt a house over his father and his mother, and burnt them together, and gave the kingship to his brother. He himself came to Ireland, fleeing that kin-murder. Now *Sera* means in the Greek language what "fingalach" (= parrieide) means in the Chosen language [Goidelic]. That is why he is called Partholon son of Sera. In exile were two of the children of Partholon born, Rudraige and Slanga. Wherefore there came a plague upon him in kin-bloodguiltiness; such was the heaviness of that plague that in whatsoever attitude any man was, sitting, or standing, or lying down, he died," etc.

The Egyptian version of the "pattern" story has certain points in common with the above narrative. Not to enter here into more than necessary details, Set, the enemy, slew Osiris, his brother, the king-god; Osiris was reborn as Horus, who avenged his father's murder upon Set, in which fight he, Horus, lost an eye; the eye was given to the dead Osiris to eat, and the latter was thereby equipped with a soul.¹⁷ It is not too much to say that from Ireland and from Egypt we appear to be listening to far-away echoes of one and the

¹⁶ The other MS., reads *asin mBethail Gregda*. It means the Mieil or Sicil of the LG text.

¹⁷ See Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, vol. i, pp. 62 ff., for the full story. There are various versions of the fate of the eye: that here adopted will be found, *ibid.*, p. 82.

same primitive story, of sunrise and sunset, and of the death and re-birth of a god of vegetation. The tearing out of the eye appears to be connected with the creation or re-creation of the sun or of the moon¹⁸—with their death at setting and re-birth at rising.

The other details of the Irish narrative then drop into their place. Partholon, according to a glossator, is the same as Ith,¹⁹ who is the same as Topa; in other words, the dead king is re-born as these new personalities, just as Osiris is reborn as Horus. The ritual combat is very prominent, the hideous Fomoraig being the enemies with whom the vegetation-god has to contend. In one illuminating passage (§ 216) we are told that no one was killed in the combat, for it was a druidical battle: this is simply a more or less contemptuous way of saying that it was a religious ceremony which took the form of a sham fight.²⁰ The sacred marriage is conspicuous also, though it has degenerated into the unpleasant story of Topa (= Partholon) and Delgnat. That the advances are made in the first instance by Delgnat is entirely in keeping with the ordinary pattern. And the train of attendants of Partholon each of them the tutelary deity of this or that activity or accomplishment of a simple pastoral life, corresponds to the fifth element in the ritual, in which the king led a triumphal procession of his subordinates. Even the killing of the dog Saimer has its place in the pattern; it inevitably recalls the κυνάφορτις, which was part of the periodical ceremonies in honour of the Argive vegetation-daemon Linos.

The final plague we can safely brush aside as a mere editorial trimming. The synthesisists had to get rid of the Partholonians somehow, in order to leave the stage clear for the Nemedians; and a plague was a convenient way of wiping out that population. But they have not been successful in concealing that a different story was told: or to be more accurate, the glossators, useful for once, have let the cat out of the bag. The god of vegetation must die under

¹⁸ See also Lord Raglan, *Jocasta's Crime*, pp. 142, 164.

¹⁹ For which we may now venture to write “(B)ith.”

²⁰ On such ceremonies and their meaning, see H. J. Rose, “A suggested explanation of ritual combats,” *Folklore*, xxxvi, p. 322.

the strokes of the winter-daemon, that he may be re-born in the springtime; and Partholon must therefore die of the venom of the wounds of Cieul (§ 217, 220).

Van Hamel reminds us that there was a god Cicellos (so Thurneysen corrects the name) of whom several altars have been found in the department of Côte d'Or. He is there equated to Mars, which may mean anything or nothing. Whether this Continental god has or has not anything to do with Cieul, we may presume that the actor who represented the latter personage in the drama danced or walked with some kind of limping gait, of which there is a reminiscence in the obscure adjective affixed to the invader's name in the LG story: and that he wore a grotesque mask, such as have been used all over the world from the Palaeolithic period onward, in rites of this kind.

In the later texts, K gives yet another estimate of the length of time between the Flood and Partholon—278 years; Keating accepts the 300, and specifically rejects the 1002 of previous authorities. Kg brings him from Mygdonia, K from Greecian Sicily; both authorities relate the parricide story, but Kg makes it a little easier—though not on that account more authentic—by a slight change: that Partholon slew his parents, seeking the kingdom *from* (not *for*) his brother. K reduces the journey from “Aladaea” to Gothia from nine days to three, and dates the arrival at Inber Seene to Tuesday the 17th of an unspecified moon: Kg says 14th May. Kg gives Partholon a following of 1000; K specifies only the three sons, the ten daughters, and their respective wives and husbands. The retinue of culture-patrons is given much as in R²R³; we have Samaliliath in Kg, Malaliach in K. Both have Biobal and Babal, with slight differences of spelling. K “spreads himself” on the Topa-Delgnat incident; Kg abbreviates it, omitting the *retoriccs*, naming the erring attendant Todhga, and omitting Partholon's vengeance upon him. None of the LG texts know the Dindsenchas story (the importance of which is indicated in the notes below), that he was eaten by dogs and birds (MD, iv, 290). The Fomorian invasion is told very briefly; Kg, as already noted, makes the mistake of anticipating their landing by 200 years. The four “unorthodox” sons of Partholon are enumerated by Kg, not by K, along with their division of Ireland.

SECTION IV.

PARTHOLÓN.

First Redaction.

L 3 a 5 : F 5 γ 16.

199. Ba fūs trā ¹Hēriu † īarsain || fri rē trī ²chēt
mbliadan † ³no dā dēce ar trī cētaib, *quod uerius est* ³||
conostoraeht ⁴Partholón mae Sera meie Srū. Is ē ⁵cēta
rogab ⁶Hērinu īar ⁷ndīlum, Dia Mairt, for ⁸eeithre dēce
ēsca, in Inbiur Seēne: ⁹‡ ūair fo thrī rogabad Hēriu a
Hinbiur Seēne ¹⁰||. Do ¹⁰chlaind Magoth meie Iafēth ¹¹ē
‡ *ut dixi supra*^(a) ||: isin tsescatmad bliadain¹¹ āisi
Abrāim ¹²rogab Partholón ¹³Hērinn.

200. ¹Cethur airech tānic Partholón: .i. sē ²fēin, ⁷
³Laiglinne ⁴a mae, diatā Loeh ⁵Laiglinne la ⁶Hū mae
Cūais Breg: Slānga ⁷Rudraige, dā mac ⁸aile Parthalóin,
diatā Sliab Slānga ⁹Loch ¹⁰Rudraige.⁸ In tan ro ¹¹class
a fert ¹⁰Rudraige ¹¹is ¹¹and ro memaid in loch fo thīr.¹²

201. Secht ¹mbliadna do Partholón ²in Hērind in tan
³atbath in cēt fer⁴ dia ⁵muntir, .i. Fea, diatā Mag Fea;
ūair is ⁶and ro hadnacht, ⁷i m-Maig Fea.

199. ¹Er, iarsin ²cet ³⁻⁴om.: conastoracht ⁴L. usually
abbreviates this name, stopping short before the second vowel: F prefers
the spelling -thal- throughout. This may be said here once for all. ⁵cēta
⁶Erinn ⁷nilind ⁸xui changed sec. man. to xiii. ⁹⁻¹⁰om. F
¹⁰claind F ¹¹⁻¹²do Parthalón autem ¹³lx.agissimo aetatis Abram tenuit
Parthalón Hiberniam, .i. insin .uii. bliadain ¹³rogab ¹³Erinn.

200. ¹ceatrar aireach tainic ²fen ³Laiglini (bis) ⁴ins. .i.

199. Now Ireland was waste [thereafter], for a space
of three hundred years, [or three hundred and twelve,
quod uerius est] till Partholon s. Sera s. Sru came to
it. He is the first who took Ireland after the Flood, on
a Tuesday, on the fourteenth of the moon, in Inber
Seene: [for three times was Ireland taken in Inber
Seene]. Of the progeny of Magog son of Iafeth was he,
[*ut dixi supra*]: in the sixtieth year of the age of
Abraham, Partholon took Ireland.

200. Four chieftains strong came Partholon: himself,
and Laiglinne his son, from whom is Loch Laiglinne in
Ui mac Uais of Breg; Slanga and Rudraige, the two
other sons of Partholon, from whom are Sliab Slanga
and Loch Rudraige. When the grave of Rudraige was
a-digging, the lake there burst forth over the land.

201. Seven years had Partholon in Ireland when the
first man of his people died, to wit Fea, from whom is
Mag Fea; for there was he buried, in Mag Fea.

⁵Hua mae Uais ⁶Rudraigi (ter) ⁷om. aile ⁸ins. .i. is ann ro
hadnacht (spelt meaninglessly hadn-acht) ⁹clos a fert ¹⁰ins. ¹¹a adnacht
¹¹ann dombebaid ¹²ins. in tan sin.

201. ¹bliadna ²an Erinn ³itbath ⁴ins. atbath (expuncted sec.
man.) and om. dia ⁵muntir ⁶ann ⁷imuir.

(a) Written v'dxs.

202. ¹Isin tres bliadain ²īarsain, cēt ³chath Hērem, ro ⁴bris Partholon i Slemmail ⁵Maige Ītha for ⁶Ciehol nGricenches d'Fhomōrehaib: ⁷ ^(a) fir eon ⁸ōen-lāmāib ⁹ con ūen-chossaib ro fersat friss ¹⁰in cath.

203. Secht ¹loch-thomadmand in ²Hērind in amsir ³Parthalōin; ⁴i. Loch ⁵Laglinne la ⁶U mac Cūais Breg, Loch Cūān ⁷ Loch ⁸Rudraige la Hultu, Loch ⁹nDechet ¹⁰ Loch Mesc ¹¹ Loch Con la ¹²Connachta, ¹³ Loch ¹⁴nEchtra la ¹⁵Airgialla; ar nī fuair ¹⁶Partholōn ar a cind ¹⁷in Hērind acht tri locha ¹⁸ nōi n-aibne, ¹⁹i. Loch ²⁰Fordremain i ²¹Slēib Mis ²²Loch ²³Lumnig fo ²⁴Thīr Find, Loch Cera in ²⁵Irrus; ²⁶Aband Lifi ²⁷ ²⁸Luī ²⁹ Muad ³⁰ Sliceech ³¹ Samāir forsatā ³²Es Rūaid, Find ³³ Modorn, ³⁴Buas ³⁵ Banna ³⁶etir Lē ³⁷ Elle. ³⁸Cethri bliadna ³⁹ria n-ēc Partholōin, tomaidm ⁴⁰Brēnnai fo thīr.

204. Ro slechta ¹cethri maige la Partholōn in ²Hērind: Mag nītha la ³Laigiu, Mag Tuired la ⁴Connachta, Mag Lī la Hū ⁵mac Cūais, Mag ⁶Ladrand la Dāl ⁷Araide. Ar nī ⁸fuair Partholon ar ⁹a ¹⁰chind ¹¹in Hērind acht ¹²ōen-magh, ¹³i. sēn-mag ¹⁴nEtair. Is aire atberar sēnmag dē, ar nīr ¹⁵as frem nā flesc feda ¹⁶trīt rīam.

202. ¹ isan ² iarsain ³ caath (dittography due to change of line)
Erenn ⁴bris ⁵ Muigi Hītha ⁶⁻⁹ Ciechar nGleareosach domorchaib
⁷ aencosaib ⁸ con aenlamaib ro fersad fris ⁹ om. in cath: ¹⁰ ins. i. demna
irachtaib daine do fersad fris.

203. ¹ lochmadmann ² Erinn ³ Partal- ⁴ om. i. ⁵ Laiglindi
⁶ Hu mac Uais ⁷ Rudraigi ⁸ Tecd ⁹ Loch nEchtra L (om. ¹⁰ Loch
Mesc) ¹¹ ¹² Loch Con ¹³ om. and ins. oL ¹⁴ Connachta F ¹⁵ om. ¹⁶ i.
¹⁷ nEtair ¹⁸ Hairgialn ¹⁹ Partalon ²⁰ an Erinn ²¹ Fordremain
(the first r ye) ²² Slab Mis la Mumain ²³ om. ²⁴ Luinnig
²⁵ Tir F: written fo thir. Findloch Cera, L ²⁶ Irrass ²⁷ abann
²⁸ om. ²⁹ (bis) ³⁰ Lai ³¹ Muaid ³² Sliceach ³³ Samer ³⁴ Ess
³⁵ Modarn ³⁶ ins. ³⁷ ³⁸ itir ³⁹ ceitri ⁴⁰ re nech (sic) Partal.
⁴¹ Brēna.

202. In the third year thereafter, the first battle of Ireland, which Partholon won in Slemma of Mag Itha against Ciehol Clapperleg of the Fomoraig. Men with single arms and single legs they were, who joined the battle with him.

203. There were seven lake-bursts in Ireland in the time of Partholon: Loch Laiglinne in Uí mac Uais of Breg, Loch Cuan and Loch Rudraige in Ulaid, Loch Dechet and Loch Mese and Loch Con in Connachta, and Loch Echtra in Airgialla; for Partholon did not find more than three lakes and nine rivers in Ireland before him—Loch Fordremain in Sliab Mis ^(a) of Mumu, ^(b) Loch Lumnig on Tir Find, Loch Cera in Irrus; Aba Life, Lui, Muad, Sliceech, Samer (upon which is Ess Ruaid) Find, Modorn, Buas, and Banna between Le and Elle. Four years before the death of Partholon, the burst of Brena over the land.

204. Four plains were cleared by Partholon in Ireland: Mag Itha in Laigen, Mag Tuired in Connachta, Mag Li in Uí mac Uais, Mag Ladrand in Dal nAraide. For Partholon found not more than one plain in Ireland before him, the Old Plain [of Elta] of Edar. This is why it is called the “Old Plain” for never did branch or twig of a wood grow through it.

204. ¹ cetri muigi ² Erinn ³ Laigiu, Mag Tuired ⁴ Connachta
⁵ mace Uais Breg ⁶ Laitrain (written Laitin, the superposed a *yc* F)
⁷ nAraid ⁸ uair ⁹ om. a ¹⁰ cind ¹¹ an Erinn ¹² om. ūen-magh i.
¹³⁻¹⁵ Elta Etair do muigib, is ann sen do had-(c)-naet Parthalon. Is airi
itberar ūen-mag do-sen, ar nī do ass premb na flesc edha.

(a) ⁹ is presumably miswritten for i.

(b) “ Of Mumu ” ins. in F.

(c) End of page here: in the lower margin there is a graffito in Ogham letters, partly defaced and unintelligible (apparently cryptical). This does not appear to have anything to do with the text.

205. ¹Oeus is ²and-side atbath Partholōn, ³i. cōic ⁴mile fer ⁵ccitre ⁶mile ban, do ⁷thām sechtmaine ⁸i callann Māi. Dia ⁹Lūain rosgab ¹⁰tām, ¹¹rosmarb in ¹⁰tām ¹¹ule, acht ¹²ōen-fer ¹³tantum — i. Tūān mac ¹⁴Stairn meic Sera meic brāthar Partholōn: oeus ¹⁵rondelb Dīa ¹⁶i r-riehthaib¹⁷ imdaib, ¹⁸ro mair in ¹⁸t-ōen-fer sain ¹⁹amsir Partholōn eo ²⁰hamsir Finnēn ¹ Coluim Cille: ²¹condecaid dōib Gabāla ²²Hērenn ¹ ²³amsir Chesra, ²⁴cēta ragab, cosin ²⁵n-amsir sin. Oeus is ē sin Tūān mac Cairill meic ²⁶Muridaig Mundeirg.²⁷ Is dō ²⁸sin ro ²⁹chan in sūi senchasa in lāid-se sīs—

A chōemu clāir Cuind cōem-find . . .

206. Ceitri meic Parthaloin ro cet-raindsid Erind ar tus, i. Aer, Orba, Fergna, Feron. Robadar eetrar a com-anmand sin ag macaib Miled, ¹ni hiad fein. Ota [Ath] Chliath Laigin co Hailach Neid, is i rāind Aer sin. Ota Ath Cliath co Hailan Arda Nemid, rāind Orba sin. Ota in Ailach co Ath Cliath Medraige, rāind Feroi insin. Ota in Ath Cliath (sic) sin co Hailach Net, rāind Fergna insin. Conad amlaid sin ro cet-rainid Erinn.

207. Bai ie Parthalon in eethar dam, is e sin buar Erenn. Ba dia daim Brega mae Senbotha ea n-ernnad tech ¹ feoi ² comræ aenfir ar tus an Erinn. Ba dia daim Samailiath, ea ndernnad ol corma ¹ rathaigecht ar tus an Erinn. Ba dia daim Beoir, ea nernad tech n-aigidh ar tus Erinn. Amail isbert in file,

Ro bo maith in muinter mōr . . .

Do t-inrab Parthaloin insi ebus (sic)—

Parthalōn can as tānic . . .

Is iad sin tra seela na eet gabala Erenn iar ndilind.

[Continued in Vol. III.]

205. ¹om. ²annsīn adbath ³om. i. cōic L. ⁴mili (bis)
⁵tām ⁶hi ⁷Luann ⁸ins. in ⁹dosmairb F: rosmarb uile in tam
ale acht L ¹⁰tāmh ¹¹om. uile ¹²acm- ¹³om. ¹⁴sic F Starn L
¹⁵om. -n- ¹⁶riehthaib ¹⁷ins. in amsirab ¹⁸taenfer sin ¹⁹amsir
²⁰amsir Finnain Muīgi Bili co Colam Cille ²¹condecaid ²²Erenn

205. And it is there that Partholon died, five thousand men and four thousand women, of a week's plague on the kalends of May. On a Monday plague took them, and the plague killed them all except one man *lantum*—Tuan son of Starn son of Sera nephew of Partholon: and God fashioned him in many forms, and that man survived alone from the time of Partholon to the time of Findian and of Colum Cille. So he narrated to them the Takings of Ireland from the time of Cessair, the first who took, to that time. And that is Tuan son of Cairell son Muiredach Muinderg. Of him the history-sage sang the following song—

Poem no. XXX.

206. It was the four sons of Parthalon who made the first division of Ireland in the beginning, Er, Orba, Fergna, Feron. There were four men, namesakes to them, among the sons of Mil, but they were not the same. From Ath Cliath of Laigin to Ailech Neit, is the division of Er. From Ath Cliath to the island of Ard Nemid, is the division of Orba. From Ailech to Ath Cliath of Medraige, is the division of Feron. From that Ath Cliath to Ailech Neit, is the division of Fergna. So that in that manner they first divided Ireland.

207. Parthalon had the four oxen, that is the first cattle of Ireland. Of his company was Brea son of Seinboth, by whom were a house, a flesh [cauldron], and duelling first made in Ireland. Of his company was Samailiath, by whom were ale-drinking and surelyship first made in Ireland. Of his company was Beoir, by whom a guesthouse was first made in Ireland. As the poet saith

Poem no. XXXI.

Further of the voyaging of Parthalon—

Poem no. XXXII.

So those are the tidings of the first Taking of Ireland after the Flood.

²³amsir Cessrach ²⁴cētna rogab Er. ²⁵om. prefixed n- ²⁶Muiridaig
²⁷ins. do Hulttaibh ²⁸om. sin ²⁹can in senchaid in duan so.

206. This ¶ in F only.

207. This ¶ in F only.

